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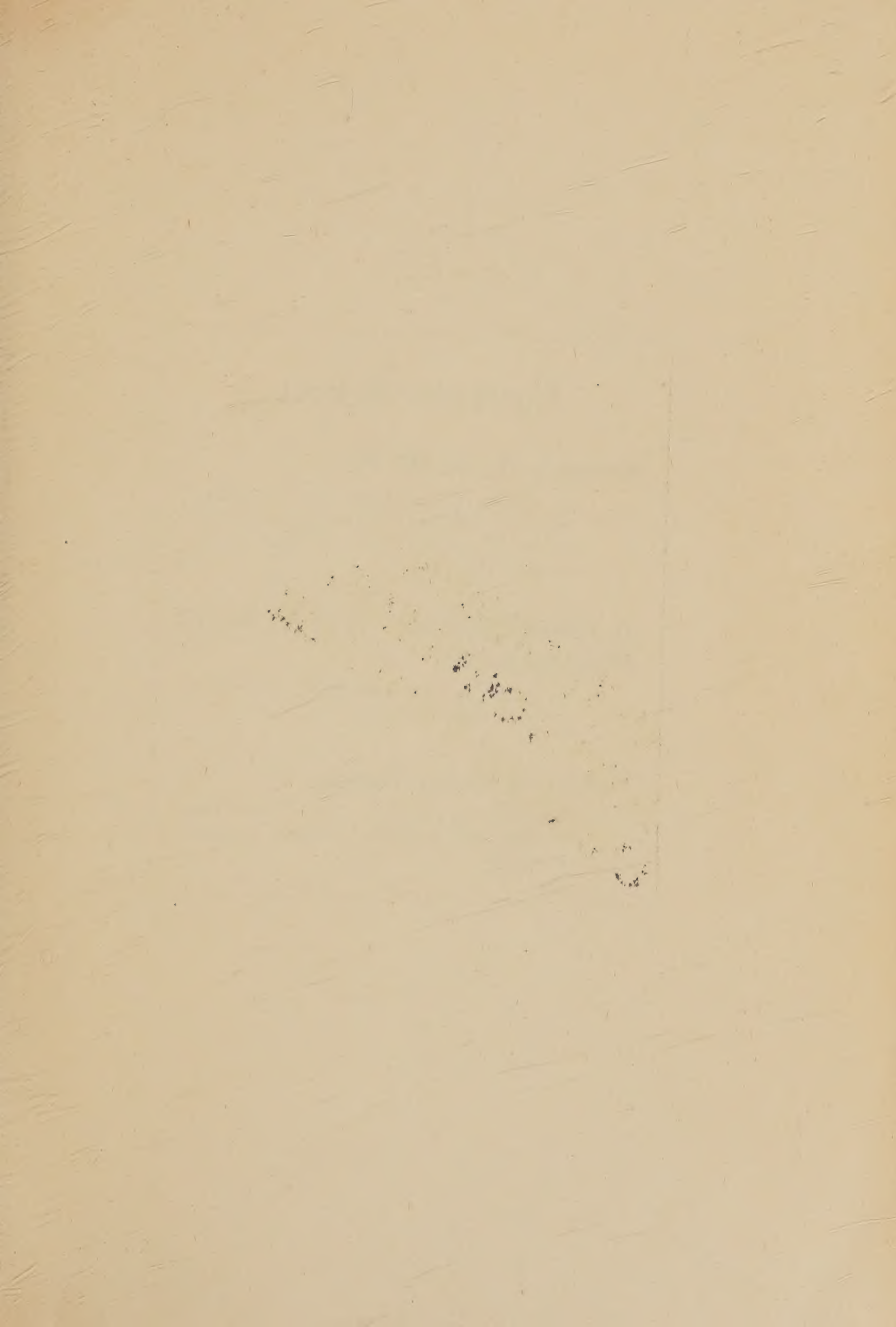
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MODERN EUROPE



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HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE



BY

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WITH MAPS AND GENEALOGICAL TABLES

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1898



25764

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TROW DIRECTORY
PRINTING AND BOOKBINDING COMPANY
NEW YORK

AUTHOR'S NOTE

DURING the preparation of this book I have received valuable help from many people, to all of whom I desire to make a grateful acknowledgment of my indebtedness. Especially do I thank my colleagues of the History Department, Messrs. Thatcher, Catterall, and Thompson, and Mr. Linn, of the Department of Rhetoric. I am also under deep obligation to Miss Moxley, who has kindly prepared the Index.

F. S.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO,

July 1st, 1898.

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MODERN HISTORY

INTRODUCTION.

A. WHY WE DATE THE MODERN ERA FROM THE END OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

DURING the last two centuries of the Middle Age (1300–1500), a series of changes transformed the states of Europe, European society, and the European man himself. These two centuries mark a transition period, and are very properly called the Renaissance. During the Renaissance, state, society, and man emerged from their mediæval condition and assumed a new aspect, which we call modern. Modern History, therefore, we date from the period of the approximate completion of this evolutionary process, that is, from the end of the fifteenth century.¹ The agents and events which contributed most largely to this transformation of Europe are here briefly enumerated.

The transformation caused by the Renaissance.

1. *The Revival of Learning*.—First in Italy, and later in the countries of the north, men began to interest themselves in the long-forgotten literature and art of Greece and Rome. By patient labor they excavated, as it were, the buried culture of antiquity and added it to their meagre mediæval stock. Thus gradually the narrow mental horizon of the mediæval man extended until it included field

¹ The year 1492 may, for its convenience, be adopted as a division mark between Mediæval and Modern History.

after field of human endeavor and enterprise, which the preceding centuries either from fear or from indifference had avoided. Learning had been religious and dogmatic ; it now became free and universal. The scholar was no longer confined in the cowl.

2. *The Revival of Industry and Commerce.*—The later Middle Age is marked by the growth of the cities through industry and commerce. The prevalent mediæval poverty gave way to a more general well-being which increased man's economic powers and enlarged his capacity of enjoyment. As society became more settled, manufactures spread and commerce grew emboldened to follow distant highways. The Crusades were instrumental in introducing the west to the luxurious east, and if they failed in their immediate object, there crowded behind the warriors of the cross the traders and the galleys of Venice and Genoa, which secured a lasting and fruitful connection between the Levant and Europe. The Mediterranean became the great highway of international traffic. Soon the cities of the Atlantic coast and of the North and Baltic Seas, were drawn into the current of the new commercial life. Finally, in the fifteenth century, commerce was multiplied incalculably, we may say revolutionized, by the great voyages of discovery.

3. *The Inventions.*—The introduction of gunpowder (fourteenth century) altered entirely the conditions of war. The superiority of the mounted knight over the foot-soldier was thereby destroyed. Thus through its loss of importance in the military field to which, during the Middle Age, it owed its political preëminence, the feudal order of nobles received an irreparable injury. A standing army of mercenaries was found by a ruler to be both more serviceable and more reliable than a self-willed aristocracy. The king in consequence began to emancipate himself from the control of his nobles.

The invention of printing¹ by multiplying books, made culture accessible to the many. Ideas, hitherto the privilege of the priest and noble, began to throw their light into the dark and brutal lives of the lower orders.

4. *The Growth of Absolutism.*—The economic changes consequent upon the decay of the nobles and the growth of the cities, involved also a political revolution. If in the Middle Age the nobles had been the dominant political factor, it was, first, because they formed the army, and, secondly, because the one great source of wealth in that period, the land, was in their possession. In the Modern Period, owing to the invention of gunpowder, they were no longer necessary for the army, and land, owing to the growth of the cities, fell from its position of sole source of wealth. The king and the cities, who had a common enemy in the nobility, soon found themselves strong enough to unseat their rival from his place of power. Gradually the king began to absorb the political powers of the nobility. Thus the feudal state, in which the power was distributed among the members of an aristocracy, decayed. In its place arose the absolute monarchy, with the power concentrated in one man.

5. *The Voyages of Discovery.*—The voyages of discovery must be reckoned in their effects among the most conspicuous and far-reaching of the events which usher in the Modern Age. The mediæval geography did not push its inquiries beyond the basin of the Mediterranean and of the North and Baltic Seas. Beyond these limits seemed to lie chaos. But now by the voyages of discovery there was communicated to Europeans the knowledge of vast lands beyond their continent. The returning adventurers told of countries, sometimes of tropical luxuriance, sometimes of

¹ Ascribed to John Gutenberg of Mainz, 1450.

forbidding cold and barrenness, and unfolded a tale of peoples, brown and black and red, who dwelt in all degrees of squalor and of splendor, here in adobe huts and there in golden palaces. Our plain earth acquired a new delight and wonder from such wealth of unexpected fact. Just as the Revival of Learning, which added new continents to man's mental world, had led him upon untravelled paths of intellectual investigation, so the discoveries, which completed the knowledge of the physical world, pushed him out upon larger material enterprises. At one and the same time man was stimulated, as perhaps never in his whole history, to summon and exercise his mental and his physical resources.

B. THE VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY AND THE EUROPEAN COLONIZATION OF THE NEW WORLD.

It will be necessary to treat the voyages of discovery and their results in a little more detail. The voyages of discovery were natural consequences of the expansion of commerce which followed in the wake of the Crusades. The trade with the Levant which had rapidly made Genoa and Venice rich, naturally aroused the cupidity of their neighbors. In the fifteenth century the Spaniards and Portuguese undertook to find a highway to the east other than the Mediterranean. Their endeavors in this enterprise led to all the subsequent discoveries. The heroes of this chapter of human progress are therefore generally Spaniards and Portuguese, or Italians in the service of these nations. The Portuguese travellers were mainly governed by the idea of finding a sea-passage to India¹ by sailing around Africa; they pushed eastward. The Spanish sailors sought to discover a sea-passage to India by circum-

The direction
of the Spanish
and the Por-
tuguese voy-
ages.

¹ India, in the fifteenth century, was a collective name for the whole Orient.

navigating the globe; they pushed westward. Each of these series of undertakings was accompanied by marvelous successes, and each had a unique climax.

In the year 1492 Christopher Columbus (Italian form of name, Cristoforo Colombo; Spanish form, Cristoval Colon), an Italian from the city of Genoa, who had entered the service of Isabella, queen of Castile, discovered, while seeking a westward passage to India, the island of San Salvador, and thus first demonstrated to the world the existence of land beyond the Atlantic.¹ The new continent was, by a tragical mishap, not named after its discoverer, but after a Florentine traveller and geographer, Amerigo Vespucci, who owed his fame to the fact that he wrote one of the first acceptable treatises on the New World. In the year 1498 the endeavors of the Portuguese to find an eastern sea-passage to India culminated in Vasco da Gama's successful voyage around the southern point of Africa, the Cape of Good Hope. This achievement, though it has not brought equal laurels, is, judged by its commercial results, hardly less memorable than that of the famous Genoese.

Columbus and
Vasco da
Gama.

In consequence of these triumphs discovery became a passion, especially among the Spaniards and the Portuguese. Where fame and wealth so amply rewarded the successful, every adventurer's soul felt a personal summons to strike out into the new and unknown realms. No period of his-

The fever of
discovery.
Magellan.

¹ It is highly probable that the Norsemen discovered America before Columbus. But their discovery was without result. Columbus sailed on his voyage August 3, 1492, from Palos, with three small ships—the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Nina*. He landed on San Salvador (Guanahani) October 12. Cuba and Hayti were also discovered upon this voyage. Upon his return his sovereigns, Ferdinand and Isabella, loaded him with honors (hereditary nobility, admiralty, etc.). He followed up his first voyage with three more voyages; second voyage (1493-96), on which he discovered Jamaica; third voyage (1498-1500), on which he first touched upon the continent of South America at the mouth of the Orinoco. It was from this voyage that he, the great benefactor of Spain, was brought back to Spain in chains. On his fourth voyage (1502-4) he landed on the coast of Honduras. He died, 1506, near Valladolid, believing to the last that he had reached India.

tory is so astir with action and enterprise, so illumined by the purple light of romance. Probably every voyage increased the store of the world's knowledge, but of all the later expeditions, the one which, by virtue of its boldness and its results, may claim a place beside those of Columbus and Vasco da Gama, is the famous first circumnavigation of the globe. This remarkable triumph was achieved by a Portuguese in the Spanish service, Magellan,¹ after a succession of incredible hardships lasting three years (1519-1522).

The world
divided be-
tween Portu-
gal and Spain.

One of the most notable facts in connection with the voyages of discovery was that the Europeans were not satisfied with a mere acquaintance with the new countries or with opening up new markets for the home traders; they also resolved to Christianize, govern, and colonize their discoveries; in a word, they resolved to refashion them as a larger Europe. Naturally the zeal for colonial expansion, which almost immediately rose to extravagant proportions, led to shameless land-grabbing, and soon to quarrels among the rival nations. Spain and Portugal, the leaders in the movement, were the first to become involved in difficulties with one another, and their disputes brought about a famous intervention by Pope Alexander VI. (Borgia). In the fifteenth century the Pope, as Christ's Vicar, was still reverently regarded as the peacemaker, the best arbiter of quarrels arising among the Christian flock. Upon being appealed to by Spain and Portugal for a settlement of their rival claims, he drew (1493) a line of demarcation, first one hundred leagues and later three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde islands, and gave all the land to be discovered east of this line to Portugal, all west of it to Spain. This line of demarcation, which cut through the

¹ Magellan did not himself complete the voyage. He was killed on one of the Philippine Islands, 1521.

eastern part of South America, secured to Spain the whole of the New World with the exception of what is now Brazil.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century the chief centres of Spanish colonization were: (1) The West India group, whither Columbus himself had first directed the stream of immigration; (2) Mexico, which was won for the Spaniards by the great conqueror, Cortez; and (3) Peru, which was acquired by Pizarro. The plain facts of the two last named conquests make many a mediæval adventure of Arthur's knights and Charlemagne's paladins drop by comparison to the level of bare prose.

The Spanish colonies.

Hernando Cortez sailed from Cuba in the year 1519, and having landed upon the continent at Vera Cruz, ordered, as his first step, the destruction of the fleet which secured him and his men a refuge in case of disaster. Then he turned his face resolutely toward his enterprise. Six hundred Spanish foot-soldiers, 16 horsemen, 14 cannons, and 200 Indians made up his force.

Cortez lands in Mexico, 1519.

The country of Mexico was inhabited by various Indian tribes in a comparatively advanced condition of civilization. The largest tribe, which lent its name to the loose political confederation in which these red men lived, was the Aztecs. To them belonged the privilege of furnishing the war chief of the league. Though they were, in their own country, held to be great warriors, they seem to have been at heart a gentle and superstitious people. The most interesting facts about them are the following: they lived in large communal houses; engaged in a kind of sun-worship which involved colossal human sacrifices (30,000 and even 70,000 victims at one time are mentioned in this connection); practised, by means of an extensive net-work of canals, a developed agriculture, the chief products of which were corn and cotton; and cultivated an attractive art which

The condition of Mexico.

found its best expression in gold and silver work and in a richly variegated pottery.

The conquest
of Mexico.

Cortez was much favored in his plans of conquest by a fortunate alliance with an Indian tribe of the coast, the Tlascalans, who lived in mortal feud with the Aztecs. Because of the help rendered by the Tlascalans the inland march of Cortez met with little or no opposition. The tribal chief of the Aztecs, Montezuma, or Emperor Montezuma, as the Spaniards called him, seized with a feeling of religious awe for the white conquerors who had come across the unknown waters, even made the adventurers welcome in Mexico, his capital city. There the unappeasable greed of the Spaniards soon occasioned quarrels with the natives. The imprisonment of Montezuma, impudently ordered one day by Cortez, snapped the last bond of friendship between the Aztecs and their rude guests. Unable to cope with a general rising, the Spanish general found it necessary to evacuate the city. His position in Mexico, already precarious enough, was rendered seemingly hopeless at this juncture by the arrival of a second Spanish force which the governor of Cuba, jealous of his countryman's achievements, had sent against him, with orders to treat him as a rebel. But Cortez's undaunted spirit rose victorious over all his difficulties. He first defeated his Spanish rival, then returning with all the forces he could muster to the capital city of Mexico, he took it after a four weeks' siege. Forthwith opposition ceased; whereupon Cortez, having executed the last emperor and successor of Montezuma, Guatimozin, assumed the rulership of all Mexico in the name of his king (1521).

The conquest
of Peru.

The conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizarro (1532) is a similar romantic story of difficulties faced with equanimity, of revolting crime against innocent and peaceful natives, of stout endurance and heroism. The civilization of the

Indians of Peru was even in advance of that of the Aztecs. The government was a sort of oligarchy, exercised by the Incas, one of whom was regularly chosen chief Inca or king. Pizarro, like Cortez, was favored in his enterprise by circumstances. When he invaded Peru, he found the country in the confusion of civil war, occasioned by the rival claims of two brother Incas, Huascar and Atahualpa. Atahualpa had lately defeated his brother and taken him prisoner. In spite of the local turmoil, the odds against the Spaniards were overwhelming and could only be overcome by audacity. Pizarro, however, cruel, unscrupulous, a character of iron, was the very man whom the situation required. With a large Peruvian army looking on, he boldly took its chief, Atahualpa, prisoner.¹ As soon as the terrorized Inca had filled his prison chamber with gold and silver, in payment of his stipulated ransom, Pizarro treacherously ignoring his promises, slew the prince and seized the country.

The Portuguese travellers, who followed in the wake of Vasco da Gama, soon undertook, after the fashion of Spain, to bind to the home country by means of colonies the countries which they had discovered in the Indian Ocean. The chain of colonies, which they had been engaged for some time in establishing along the west coast of Africa, was gradually extended to the East Indian Archipelago, to India proper, and Farther India. The Portuguese, who were not a numerous people, never succeeded in settling these countries with their own race in such force as to supplant the native element. They themselves understood this difficulty before long, and thereafter were satisfied with merely occupying advance-posts here and there, and with trying to se-

The Portuguese colonies.

¹ The exact figures of Pizarro's army are the most significant comment on his surprising conquest of Peru. He had one hundred and sixty-eight foot-soldiers and sixty-seven horsemen.

cure by treaties exclusive trade-privileges with the peoples among whom they settled. With Brazil, their one possession in the western world, the case was different. This country they succeeded in winning for their nation, and it has remained Portuguese in tongue and manners to this day.

The northern European countries entered late, and with only gradually increasing fervor, into the contest for the possession of the new continents. The little which Henry VII. of England did to secure for his country a share in the great extension of the world is of importance only by reason of consequences which he did not remotely foresee. In 1497, Henry, jealous of Portugal and Spain, at last equipped and sent westward one John Cabot, who was, like Columbus, a Genoese by birth. Cabot's purpose, as well as that of many English mariners after him, was to discover still another passage, a passage by the waters of the northwest, to the oriental fairy-land, India, and by this means to elude the Spaniards, who were pushing for this same India by following a southwesterly course. The attempts of Cabot were destined to failure, but England by means of them secured at least a vague claim to the northeastern coast of America. This claim, after being allowed to lie forgotten for a period, was revived during the reign of Elizabeth and led in the progress of time to the foundation of the English colonies of North America.

The English
voyages.

The French were even more lax than the English in the matter of colonization, and it was not until the reign of Henry IV. (1589-1610) that they remembered that an empire was being divided without consideration of themselves. They then hastened to undo as far as possible the consequences of their neglect by settlements in Canada, and, later, in Louisiana, that is, in the St. Lawrence and Mississippi basins.

The French
colonies.

The Dutch owed their colonies to the long war of independence which they waged with the king of Spain. In 1580 Portugal, as will be seen hereafter, was temporarily incorporated with Spain, the Portuguese colonies, in consequence of this act, becoming Spanish. The Dutch thereupon began to take away from the king of Spain both the Portuguese and the Spanish East-India trade and territory. This fact explains why the centre of the Dutch trade and colonial territory lies to this day in the Indian Ocean.

The Dutch colonies.

C. THE EUROPEAN STATES AT THE BEGINNING OF THE MODERN PERIOD.

The Empire.

The Holy Roman Empire, at one time dominant over Europe, had practically been reduced at the beginning of the Modern Period to the national state of Germany. About the year 1500, therefore, the words Empire and Germany have, to all intents and purposes, become interchangeable terms.

At the opening of the Modern Period Maximilian I. (1493-1519), of the House of Hapsburg, was the head of the Holy Roman Empire. The family of Hapsburg had grown so powerful in the fifteenth century that the German crown had almost become its hereditary possession. Theoretically, however, the crown was still elective. On the death of an emperor, a successor could be legally chosen only by the seven electors, who were the seven greatest princes of the realm.¹ The seven electors, the lesser princes (including the higher ecclesiastical dignitaries, such as bishops and abbots), and the free cities, ranged in three

The constitution of Germany.

¹ Of these seven electors three were ecclesiastical dignitaries and four were lay princes. The seven were: the archbishops of Mainz, of Cologne, and of Trier (Treves), the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count palatine of the Rhine.

separate houses, composed the imperial Diet. The Diet was the legislative body of the Empire, without the consent of which the emperor could not perform any important act. Emperor and Diet together constituted the imperial government, if machinery as decrepit as the machinery of the Empire had come to be may be qualified by that name. In fact, the national government of Germany was little more than a glorious memory. Germany had not, like France, England, and Spain, advanced steadily in the later Middle Age toward national unity, but had steadily travelled in the opposite direction and lost her coherence. The numerous princes, margraves, counts, prince-bishops, and free cities, constituting the so-called "estates" of the mediæval feudal realm, had acquired a constantly increasing independence of the central power, and had reduced the emperor to a puppet.¹

The attempted
reforms of
Maximilian.

The greatest interest attaching to Maximilian's reign is connected with the circumstance, that under him the last serious attempt was made to remodel the antiquated machinery of the imperial government. In the latter half of the fifteenth century something like a wave of national enthusiasm had swept over Germany. Voices had been raised throughout the land for reform, and sustained by these manifestations, Maximilian and his Diet undertook to reinvigorate and modernize the constitution. In 1495 a Diet met at Worms to discuss the measures to be taken. The result was a miserable disappointment; for what was done did not effect any substantial change in the position of the central authority, the emperor. Such reform as was carried out limited itself to the establishment of the greater internal security of

¹ There were at this time about three hundred of these local governments, some, like Saxony and Brandenburg, large enough to be respectable, others as circumscribed as an American township. Germany was visibly verging toward a time when she would be decomposed, in fact and in law, into three hundred independent states.

the realm. The right of private warfare, the most insufferable survival of feudal times, was abolished, and a perpetual peace (ewiger Landfrieden) proclaimed. To support this peace there was instituted a special court of justice, the Imperial Chamber (Reichskammergericht), to which all conflicts between the estates of the realm had to be referred for amicable adjustment. Later the Empire was divided, in order to assure the execution of the verdicts of the Imperial Chamber and for the greater safety of the realm against external and internal foes, into ten administrative districts. This is the largest measure of reform which the local governments in control of the Diet would, out of jealousy of the central government, concede. The emperor was left as before without an income, without any administrative functions, and without an army. He was and remained as long as the Holy Roman Empire continued to exist, a poor lay-figure, draped for merely ~~symbolic~~ ^{ceremonial} purposes in the mantle of royalty. If we hear of powerful emperors in the future (Charles V., for instance), we shall discover that they owed their power, never to the Empire, but always to the force which they derived from their hereditary lands. In their hereditary lands they were what they could never be in the Empire, effective masters.

Maximilian, sometimes called the last knight, was a kind, generous man, who might have been spared the various misfortunes of his life, if he had not taken the Empire and its threadbare splendors seriously. He tried to make good the ancient imperial claims to parts of Italy and naturally met with derision; he tried to unite Europe against the Turks who had overrun the east (fall of Constantinople, 1453) and were moving westward up the Danube and along the Mediterranean, but he could not even influence his

The Hapsburg marriages.
Charles V.

¹ Napoleon put an end to the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

own Germans to a national war of defence.¹ However, a number of matrimonial bargains richly compensated Maximilian for his many political disappointments. In the year 1477 he married Mary of Burgundy, the only child of Charles the Bold and the heiress of the Netherlands, and in 1496 his son Philip was united to Joan of Castile, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, first joint-rulers of united Spain. Philip dying and Joan becoming insane, their son Charles was proclaimed, first, duke of Burgundy, and, later, on the death of Ferdinand (1516), king of Spain. Finally, when the Emperor Maximilian died (1519) Charles fell heir also to Austria, and soon after was elected, in consequence of his great position, to succeed his grandfather in the Empire. The new emperor adopted the title of Charles V.² Unluckily for Charles V. there had, just before Maximilian's death, broken out the great Church schism, known as the Reformation. Owing to his training Charles's impulse was to treat the Reformation slightly. But the Reformation was destined none the less to be the rock upon which his power was shattered to pieces.

Italy.

The five leading states.

Italy, at the end of the Middle Age, had fallen into even worse confusion than Germany, for the very semblance of national unity had been abandoned. There were upon the peninsula five leading states: the duchy of Milan, the republic of Venice, the republic of Florence, the states of the Church, and the kingdom of Naples. The numerous small states, like Savoy and Ferrara, were too inconsiderable to play a political rôle. During the fifteenth century the five leading states had been constantly engaged in wars among

¹ In consequence of the indifference of Europe, the Turks remained for the next two hundred years the most dangerous of all the enemies which the House of Hapsburg had to encounter.

² As king of Spain he is Charles I.

themselves. These wars did no great harm until it occurred to the kings of Spain and France to turn the local divisions of Italy to their personal advantage. Spain at the end of the fifteenth century already possessed the islands of Sardinia and Sicily, and its royal House^{*} was closely related to the ruling House of Naples.[#] Through these connections Spain acquired an active interest in Italian affairs. Unfortunately for Italy, France also became interested in Italian affairs, when upon the death of the last Anjou (1481),¹ such rights as the Anjou possessed to Naples were transferred to the king of France. Charles VIII. of France resolved on his accession to power to make good his claims upon Naples by force, and in 1494 he made his famous invasion of Italy. It was the first foreign interference in the affairs of the peninsula since the beginning of the Renaissance and became the prelude to Italy's decay and enslavement. Spain being, of course, unable to permit without opposition the extension of France, there began in consequence that contest between the two rivals for the possession of Italy, which lasted for over fifty years and ended in the complete victory of Spain. At the beginning of our period this result was not yet apparent. But within a few years after the outbreak of the French-Spanish wars, the states of Italy, overrun and plundered by superior forces, commenced to exhibit material alterations in their political status.

(c) *Naples*.—If Naples, as it was the first, had remained the only source of quarrel between France and Spain, peace might soon have been reestablished. For, after having been traversed again and again by French and Spanish troops, the kingdom of Naples was definitely ceded by France to Spain (1504), of which it was destined to remain a part for two hundred years (till the Treaty of

Naples
acquired by
Spain, 1504.

¹ The Anjou were a secondary branch of the royal House of France and had an old claim to the kingdom of Naples.

* *House of Anjou* } It was the union of the
House of Aragon } Houses of France & Aragon
by the marriage of
the daughter of Louis XI. of France
with Ferdinand II. of Aragon

Utrecht, 1713). Unfortunately, a second bone of contention between the two great western monarchies was found in the duchy of Milan.

Struggle between France and Spain for the possession of Milan.

Milan.—The duchy of Milan was legally a fief of the Holy Roman Empire, but was held at this time in practically independent possession by the family of the Sforza. When Charles VIII. of France died in 1498, Louis XII., his successor, remembered that he was a descendant of a family, the Visconti, who had ruled in Milan before the Sforza. On the strength of this vague priority, Louis resolved to supplant the Sforza upstart. Having invaded and conquered Milan in 1499, he held that city successfully until there was formed against him the Holy League, composed of the Pope, Venice, Spain, and England (1512). The Holy League quickly succeeded in driving the French out of Italy and in reinstating the Sforza family in their duchy. Louis XII. died in 1515, without having reconquered Milan, but his successor, Francis I., immediately upon his accession, marched his army off to Italy to try in his turn the fortunes of war and conquest. His brilliant victory of Marignano (1515) again put the French in possession of Milan. For a short time now there was peace between France and Spain; but naturally the Spaniards saw with envy the extension of French influence over the north of Italy, and when Charles, king of Spain, was elected emperor in 1519, the necessary pretext for renewing the war with France was given into their hands. It has already been said that Milan was legally a fief of the Empire. In his capacity of emperor, Charles could find a ready justification for interfering in the affairs of his dependency. Immediately upon his election he resolved to challenge the right of the French to Milan, and so the French-Spanish wars in Italy were renewed.

Venice.—In the fifteenth century Venice was the strong-

est of all the Italian states. She called herself a republic, but was more truly an oligarchy, the power lying in the hands of the nobles who composed the Great Council and elected the chief dignitary, the doge or duke. The power of Venice was due to her immense trade and possessions in the Orient.¹ In addition to these colonial territories she held the whole northeastern portion of Italy. The Renaissance Period is the period of the glory of Venice; at the beginning of the Modern Period that glory was already rapidly waning. The first obstacle to the continued prosperity of Venice was furnished by the Turks. The Turks having begun their irresistible march through western Asia and eastern Europe, unsparingly wrenched from Venice, bit by bit, her oriental trade and possessions. The second misfortune which befell Venice was the discovery by Vasco da Gama of the sea-passage to India around the Cape of Good Hope. This discovery, by drawing off the oriental commerce to Spain and Portugal, struck a fatal blow at Venetian prosperity. And to these reverses in the east were added reverses in the west. Because Venice had followed in the wars of Italy a treacherous and selfish policy, she had won the hatred of all parties. Finally they agreed to revenge themselves. In 1508, the Emperor, the Pope, France, and Spain, formed the formidable League of Cambrai against her for the purpose of compassing her destruction. Although she managed by timely concessions to save herself from the noose which had been flung about her neck, she never again recovered her former prestige. The republic of Venice continued to decline during the whole Modern Period, but lived in some fashion or other till Napoleon made an end of it in the year 1797.

Venice begins
to decay.

*d*¹ *Florence*.—The republic of Florence, far-famed in the

¹ She held the Morea, Candia, Cyprus, and most of the islands of the Ægean and Ionian Seas.

Florence
subjected to
the Medici.

period of the Renaissance for its great artists and writers, had, in the fifteenth century, lost its free constitution and fallen under the domination of a native family, the Medici (Lorenzo the Magnificent, the greatest of the line, ruled from 1469 to 1492). But in spite of the Medici the love for the republic remained enshrined in the hearts of the people. When, therefore, the invasion of Charles VIII. (1494) offered a chance to cast off the Medicean yoke, the people rose, banished their tyrants, and reëstablished the republic. Girolamo Savonarola, a pious monk, who had, through his stirring invectives against the general corruption of manners, acquired a great following, became the popular hero and leader. For four years he controlled the government, and labored at the reform of morals. During the period of Savonarola's supremacy, Florence presented to her astonished contemporaries who dwelt upon the free heights of the pagan Renaissance, the picture of a narrow Biblical theocracy. But in 1498 Savonarola's enemies compassed his overthrow and burned him at the stake. For a few more years the republic went on as best it could, until in 1512 the Medici reconquered the city. In 1527 the Florentines made a last attempt to regain their liberties. Again they cast the Medici out, but again the banished princes returned, this time with the help of Charles V. (1529), who now honored the head of the Medicean House, Alexander, by conferring upon him and his heirs, Florence and her territory under the name of the duchy (later the grand duchy) of Tuscany.

The states of
the Church
acquire soli-
darity.

(e) *The States of the Church.*—During the period of the Renaissance, the Popes, becoming pagan like the rest of the world, sacrificed every principle to the desire of being brilliant secular princes. Their dominant aspiration was to consolidate the territory of the Church. This territory, running across the middle of the peninsula, formed an ex-

tensive possession, but had unfortunately fallen in large part into the hands of petty tyrants. Pope Alexander VI. (1492-1503) of the family of Borgia, infamous for his murders and excesses, has the merit of having carried the papal policy to a successful issue. Through the unscrupulous agency of his son Cæsar Borgia, the petty tyrants of the papal states were either poisoned or assassinated. Thus at last the Pope became master in the hereditary dominion of St. Peter.

Alexander VI. was followed by two Popes, who, if they are not great spiritual lights, have nevertheless attractive personalities. They are Julius II. (1503-13) and Leo X. (1513-21), the latter a member of the famous Florentine family of the Medici. Both of these Popes will always be remembered for their splendid patronage of the arts.¹ It was during the papacy of Leo X., whose interests were literary, artistic, social, in short, everything but religious, and whose nature and associations inclined him to a pagan conception of life, that there was raised in Germany the cry for reform which led to the Protestant schism.

Savoy.—In northwestern Italy, on the border of France, lay among the Alps the duchy of Savoy. At the beginning of the Modern Period the duke of Savoy was not yet an influential power. But during the next centuries he grew stronger and stronger through perseverance and hardihood, until finally his power surpassed that of any other prince of Italy. In our own century the House of Savoy has become the royal House of united Italy.

¹ Church of St. Peter begun ; Michel Angelo and Raffaele at Rome.

The unifica-
tion of
France.

France.

Under Charles VII. (1422-61) and Louis XI. (1461-83) France had lost her old feudal character and become an absolute monarchy. The great dukes and counts had been forced into submission to the will of the king. The king had become master; he had secured himself a revenue over which he had free disposal (through a land-tax called *taille*) and he had created a standing army, which was at his and not at the nobles' orders. Louis XI. also added to France several outlying provinces, which were necessary to the completion of the nation. These were Provence in the southeast and the duchy of Burgundy in the east. When his son Charles VIII. (1483-98) acquired Brittany in the northwest, the process of the unification of France may be said to have been completed. She was now composed internally under the constitution of the absolute king, in a manner which had not been possible in feudal times, and she was united and strong to act against external foes. Under these circumstances Charles VIII. could afford to turn his thoughts to foreign conquest. Burning with ambition he undertook to conquer Naples on the strength of certain inherited claims, and invaded Italy (1494). But his policy of foreign conquest incited the hostility of his jealous neighbor Spain, and led to the great French-Spanish wars for the possession of Italy, which lasted with occasional interruptions for fifty years. The review of Italy has acquainted us with the early stages of this conflict. Charles VIII., after a brief triumph, was forced to give up Naples. Finally it was ceded to Ferdinand of Spain (1504). Louis XII. of France (1498-1515) renewed the struggle in Italy by laying hold of the duchy of Milan, and though he was forced to give up Milan in 1512 (the Holy League), his successor, Francis I.

(1515-47), immediately reconquered it by the victory of Marignano (1515).

Spain.

The movement toward national unity and absolutism, just observed in France, is no less characteristic of the political development, during the fifteenth century, of Spain. The unity of Spain, after having made steady progress for some centuries, was finally secured by the marriage of Ferdinand (1479-1516) and Isabella (1474-1504), who were the heirs respectively of the two largest Christian kingdoms on the peninsula, Aragon and Castile. Both of these kingdoms had grown strong by championing the national cause against the Moors, who had, in the Middle Age, overrun the peninsula. In the year 1492 Granada, the last foothold of the Moors, was captured, and, therewith, the Mohammedan power in Spain, which had lasted for eight centuries, came to an end.

The
unification
of Spain.

The unification of Spain inaugurated a period of territorial expansion which is unparalleled in history. In the same year in which the Moorish kingdom fell, Columbus discovered America, and opened up to Spain the vast dominion of the new world. Next Ferdinand, upon being drawn into war with France on account of the conquest of Naples by Charles VIII., succeeded in beating the French and seizing the kingdom of Naples for himself (1504). In 1512 he further acquired that part of the border-kingdom of Navarre which lay upon the Spanish slope of the Pyrenees. Thus it happened that when Ferdinand was succeeded upon his death by his grandson, Charles I. (1516-56), this young king found himself master of the most extensive territories of the world. Although Charles was, merely by virtue of his position as king of Spain, the leading sovereign of Europe, he had additional interests and resources

The
expansion of
Spain.

as ruler of the Netherlands and archduke of Austria, which raised him far above any rival. Finally in 1519, the electors of the Empire made him emperor.

The growth of the royal power had meanwhile kept pace with the extension of Spain. Ferdinand and Isabella with the aid of the cities put down the robber-knights and thus secured the peace of the land. Then the monarchs turned their attention to the nobility. The feudal Parliament of Castile (called Cortes) was first restricted in its influence, and then robbed of all importance. The Parliament of Aragon held out a little longer against the royal encroachments. But the act which more than any other registered the extension of the central power, was the introduction of the Inquisition for the persecution of heretics and of enemies of the government—that is, of Jews, Moors, and, later, Protestants.¹ How severely this organization interpreted its task, is witnessed by the fact that during the reign of the first Grand Inquisitor, Tomas de Torquemada (1483-98), about 10,000 persons were burned alive,² 6,000 were burned in effigy, and 90,000 were condemned to ecclesiastical and civil penalties.

England.

England passed through momentous vicissitudes in the fifteenth century. Under an ambitious monarch she had become engaged in a policy of foreign conquest. But having, under Henry V., conquered France (battle of Agin-

¹ It is necessary to note that the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition are not due solely to religious intolerance. The Inquisition was in the hands of the king, also a political weapon which he used to secure the racial unity of the peninsula. It must be remembered that Moors and Jews were very numerous, and that they constituted a real threat to the Spanish domination.

² Christian fanaticism denominated these abominations *autos da fé* (acts of faith). An *auto da fé* was, like a bull-fight, an occasion for general merry-making.

court, 1415), she had, under Henry VI. (1422-61) lost all her continental possessions again except Calais. Worse than this, under this same weak-spirited monarch she was torn by civil war. The House of York, a branch of the reigning House of Lancaster, ventured to put forth a claim to the throne, and the war that ensued, called the War of the Roses, lasted until 1485. In 1485 Richard III., the last male heir of the House of York, was defeated and killed at the battle of Bosworth. The victor, himself of the House of Tudor, but, at the same time, a descendant of the House of Lancaster, succeeded to the throne as Henry VII. (1485-1509). Through the marriage of Henry VII. to Elizabeth, a daughter of the House of York, the new House of Tudor united the claims of both contending Houses, and thus the civil war came at length to an end.

The end of
the War of
the Roses.

Under Henry VII., an extremely cautious and politic man, there grew up in England the "strong Tudor monarchy." Traditionally, the power in England lay in the hands of the King and the Parliament, composed of the two Houses of the Lords and the Commons. But as at this time the House of Lords was more influential than the House of Commons, the power in England lay practically, as everywhere in feudal times, with king and nobles. Now the long civil war, which was really a war of two noble factions, had made great havoc among the ranks of the nobility. Moreover it had confirmed, among the middle classes, the desire for peace. The nobility diminished in authority, and the common people disposed to concur in the repression of the ruling class, established a situation by which the king was resolved to profit. It will be remembered that absolutism was in the air at the time, as is witnessed by the case of France and Spain. Without breaking any laws Henry managed to reduce to a minimum the importance of the second organ of government, the Parliament, by the sim-

Henry VII.
founds the
"strong mon-
archy."

ple device of calling it together as little as possible.¹ Then he turned his attention to the turbulent nobles. By forbidding them to keep armed retainers, he deprived them of their military power, and by means of a special court of justice, the celebrated Star Chamber, which he made dependent upon himself, he kept watch over them and punished them for misdemeanors. Peace, rapid and complete, was the result. Of course the credit of the king received a great augmentation. In fact, England would have fallen as completely into the hands of her sovereign as France had done, if the law had not remained upon her statute-books that the king could raise no money without the consent of his Parliament. This provision neither Henry VII. nor any of his successors dared abrogate. Thus, although not always observed, it remained the law of the land, and in the course of time, when the common people had acquired wealth and dignity, it was destined to become the weapon by which the "strong monarchy" was struck to the ground and Parliament set in the monarch's place.

Henry's policy
of peace.

It was chiefly to rid himself of Parliament and strengthen the monarchy internally, that Henry kept clear of foreign war. War would have required money, and money would have required a session of Parliament, from which might have come an interference with the king's free determinations. The reign of Henry VII. was therefore, with trifling exceptions, a reign of peace.

Henry secures
a claim to
North Amer-
ica.

It was during the reign of Henry VII. that Columbus discovered America. England was not yet a great sea-power, but Henry managed to secure at least a claim to the new world, by sending out John Cabot, who in 1497 discovered the continent of North America.

¹ He summoned the Parliament only twice during the last thirteen years of his reign.

PERIOD I

THE REFORMATION AND THE WARS OF RELIGION; FROM LUTHER TO THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA (1517-1648)

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A. H. Johnson : European History, 1494 to 1598. An excellent short treatise.

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THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY TO THE
PEACE OF AUGSBURG (1555)*

AT the opening of the Modern Period, Europe was almost completely inhabited by Christian peoples. The Mohammedan faith had just lost its last stronghold in western Europe (fall of Granada, 1492), but it had been more than compensated for this loss by the conquest, at about the same time, of the Balkan peninsula by the Mohammedan Turks. Europe was, however, substantially Christian, and was divided between two Churches, the Roman and the Greek. These two Christian Churches had been originally one, but since the eighth century, each had gone its own way in organization and doctrine. The Greek Church, embracing the Greek and Slav peoples who had been Christianized from Constantinople, the capital of the Roman Empire of the East, lay practically outside the circumference of the European civilization of early modern times and need not occupy us here. The Roman Church, on the other hand, was the church of western Europe, the church of civilization. It embraced all the Latin and Teutonic nations who had been Christianized from Rome, the capital of the Roman Empire of the West.

The Roman
and the Greek
Churches.

The Catholic Church, as the Roman Church was called, had, during the Middle Age, grown into a huge organization. The fundamental principle of the Catholic organization was the division of society into clergy and laity. The clergy were the appointed mediators between God and

The Catholic Church: its fundamental principles and its political power.

* Fisher, Hist. of the Reformation, c's IV. & V.
Häusser, Reich " " " Parts I. & III.
Seebohm, Eng " " Protestant Revolution, Part II.
" " " " " " " " Robertson

man, the laity were the obedient flock who had nothing whatever to say in spiritual matters. From this theoretical division it was only a step to the view that the clergy were a superior set of beings; that they ought not to be subjected to the laws of the laity; and that they ought to be completely independent of the civil authorities. The student of earlier history will recall that these claims were actually advanced and realized by the Church in the Middle Age. At the opening of the Modern Period, therefore, the clergy stood outside the pale of the common law, were governed by their own clerical law, and formed in every country of Europe a state within a larger state. The sum of these little clerical states made up the great clerical state of Europe. The great clerical state of Europe was a state in the same sense in which France or Spain were states. It was ruled by the Pope, and had its capital at Rome.

The Catholic Church: its spiritual organization.

Thus, when we begin our survey of history, the Catholic Church wielded a tremendous political power. Naturally enough, having during many centuries laid an unwarranted stress upon its material position, it had fallen into increasing neglect of the spiritual ends for which it had been founded. But, although the Church may, in its eagerness to play a great worldly rôle, be fairly charged with neglect of its spiritual ends, it cannot be said to have forgotten them. For the purpose of governing Christianity, Europe was divided into dioceses, at the head of each of which was a bishop, who owed allegiance to the Pope. The diocese was then divided into parishes, and over each parish was established a priest.¹ The intention was that not a

¹ An adjunct to this system of spiritual government had grown up in the monasteries. Monasteries were founded to afford men an opportunity of saving their souls by withdrawing from the world. Similar institutions for women, called nunneries, followed. In the course of the Middle Age there were founded a great many orders of monasteries and nunneries (for instance, the Order of St. Benedict, the Order of St. Clara), and through gifts and legacies they had acquired an immense

single layman should be without his necessary clerical supervisor, for without the priest no layman could save his soul.

Thus far we have considered only the political power and the spiritual organization of the Church. But it is necessary to regard also its inner elements, its doctrines and its practices. The doctrines consisted of the beliefs as they had been formulated, at various times, by the Church Councils and by the Popes. They constituted a kind of philosophy of life, and had to be accepted one and all, by every believer. The individual had no right to submit them to a personal investigation and reject them, if reason and conscience so ordered. Naturally, too, in the long history of the Church there had been developed a peculiar religious service. Its characteristic feature was the mass. Furthermore, a whole host of distinctive practices, such as worship of the saints, pilgrimages, auricular confession, fasts, and flagellation, had gathered, by a process of gradual accretion, around the religious life of the time.

The doctrines and the religious practices of the Church.

In the course of the later Middle Age, the organization of the Church, its doctrines, and its practices had stirred up occasional opposition. The organization, owing to its great political power, had become tyrannous, and the clergy were frequently corrupt and sensual. The doctrines and the practices, in many instances, were felt by an advancing society to be based on superstition and unreason. Critics like Wiclif and Huss, though put down, roused a considerable echo throughout Europe. But the Church, rejecting all advice, obstinately stood out against reform. In the fifteenth century the

The decay of the Church.

wealth. In the thirteenth century two begging orders were established for a somewhat different end. Their members were called Friars (Friars of St. Francis, Friars of St. Dominic), and their chief object was to do pastoral work among the poor.

decay in the manners of the clergy was accelerated, chiefly by the influence of the pagan Renaissance. The clergy, too, heard the joyous call for an unfettered life that came from the humanists and artists. The Papacy, in the hands of such men as Sixtus IV. (1471-84) and Alexander VI. (1493-1502), fell into simony, licentiousness, and murder, wallowed in the slough of all the sins, and sank into disrepute before the Christian body of Europe. Under these conditions, a new protest against the abuses in the Church was more likely to gain an audience than any of the previous appeals; and in fact, when the new protest was made at the beginning of the Modern Era, though it was only a simple monk who launched it, one-half of Europe immediately crowded around the champion of reform.

The expansion
of man and of
society.

In considering the origin of the great movement of the Reformation, it is not enough to lay stress upon the abuses in the Catholic Church. Far more than to a decay within the Catholic Church, the Reformation was due to a progress of civilization, an expansion in the life of man and of society. This progress, with its attendant features of a Revival of Learning, a Revival of Commerce and Industry, has already been considered in the Introduction. The simple fact is, that the Catholic Church, with its tyrannous organization, with its abundant superstition and unreason, with its independence of the state authority, and with its constant intrusion into the private life of the individual,¹ was no longer adapted to the modern man and the modern society then in the process of formation. It offered man a strait-jacket, when what he wanted and needed was absolute freedom of limb. A greater enemy of the Catholic Church than its own corruption, was, there-

¹ The clergy performed a large number of functions, which we regard as naturally pertaining to the state, at least, as supervisor. The new-born infant had to be consigned to the Church for baptism; without the Church no man could marry, or be divorced, or make his will.

* See article by Prof. Robinson,

in Amer. Hist. Review, Vol. VIII., No. 2,

"The Story of the Lutheran Revolt."

fore, the new man created by the Renaissance. Before we take up the Reformation in Germany, its home, it is only natural, then, that we should give some attention to the effects there of the Renaissance, and of its attendant feature—the Revival of Learning.

The Revival of Classical Learning, by the so-called humanists, took, in Italy, the home of the movement, a pronounced pagan form. The work of the scholars of Rome and Florence led to a gradual separation from Christianity, culminating in an actual contempt for it. When the Revival reached the Teutonic north, especially Germany and England, it exercised a different influence, an influence in keeping with the character of the northern peoples. The serious and reflective north was not, like the facile and impressionable south, immediately won over by the vision of Greek joyousness and Roman splendor to throw away, as useless ballast, the Christian acquisitions of the past. The northern scholars, too, turned back to the world which lay beyond the Middle Age; however, they did not busy themselves with Greek and Latin documents only, but included in their range of study also the sources of Hebrew and of Christian history. They came to this intellectual work fresh and without guidance, and were delighted, like children, with their discovery of the ancient and simple Christianity of apostolic times. It is not surprising that to minds already suspicious of contemporary Christianity, the earlier form should have seemed heartier and nobler than the elaborate Roman Catholic form with the many picturesque features which had been added in the course of a long existence. Without giving up the kernel of Christianity, therefore, the northern scholars undertook to attack, by means of criticism and satire, everything in the Catholic Church that they considered as supererogatory and repulsive.

The Revival of Learning in Italy and in the north.

The northern
humanists. *

The most important of these northern humanists, who are justly called the intellectual forerunners of the Reformation, are Reuchlin and Ulrich von Hutten of Germany, John Colet and Thomas More of England,¹ Lefèvre of France,² and Erasmus of Rotterdam. We are for the present particularly interested in those humanists who exercised an influence on Germany, where the Reformation originated. Of these Ulrich von Hutten was easily the most active—a poet and a fighter rather than a scholar, who became famous through his collaboration in the *Epistolæ obscurorum virorum*, a biting satire against the opponents of enlightenment and progress. But the leader, the prince of the humanists, as he was called, was Erasmus. He lived at different times in France, England, and Germany and acquired a European fame. His most noteworthy piece of scholarship was a careful edition of the New Testament in Greek with a Latin translation and notes (1516). Neither the Old nor the New Testament had been a household book in the Middle Age. Erasmus planned to make them such; it was his wish that the people should get an opportunity to acquaint themselves directly out of the Bible with the true Christian life without first appealing to their old tyrants, the clergy. Erasmus also, like Hutten, delighted in satire. His "Praise of Folly" (1511), lashing the stupidities and superstitions of the day, tremendously contributed to the popularity of reform.

The human-
ists preached
reform, not
revolt.

Erasmus and his friends were students and not warriors. They wished to raise the culture of their day by education, and though they attacked the Church, they never thought of destroying, but only of reforming it. When, therefore, the movement which they had championed assumed, in the hands of a younger generation, an aggres-

¹ For the work of the English humanists, see Chapter IV.

² For Lefèvre, see Chapter VI.

* Seebohm, *The Oxford Reformers*.
Shaw, " " "
Seebohm, *Essay Prot. Rev.*, Part II., ch. II.
Whitcomb, *Source-book of the German Renaissance*.

sive character, and attempted to bring about an absolute separation of the north from the Church of Rome, the humanists, mild scholars that they were, with the exception of such an occasional fighter as Hutten, fell off in terror from the cause which they themselves had launched in the world. They contributed to the making of the Reformation, but when that movement became revolutionary, they deliberately forsook it and returned to the bosom of Mother Church.

Thus, although the humanists of the generation of Erasmus prepared the Reformation they did not make it. Its author is Martin Luther. Martin Luther was born November 10, 1483, in the province of Thuringia. His ancestry for many generations back had been hard-working peasants, and peasant sturdiness and simplicity, with much of peasant obstinacy and superstition, remained characteristic of this son of the soil to the end of his days. By personal sacrifices his parents managed to send young Martin to the humanistic university of Erfurt for the purpose of making a lawyer of him, but in the year 1505, following what appears to have been an irresistible religious impulse, he joined the Augustine Order and became a monk. A journey undertaken in 1510 to Rome, the capital of Catholicism, but also at that time the centre of the most brilliant and profligate life of Europe, may have planted in the rigorous young monk the seed of his later antagonism to the Papacy. In any event, on his return to Germany he occupied himself with a deep study of the problems of the Christian life. St. Augustine and the mystics were his favorite authors. With the aid of these he developed what later became and still is, the fundamental doctrine of the Protestant Church, the principle of Justification by Faith.¹

¹ The Catholic Church taught that man is saved or justified by works. Custom had come to construe works as the mere performance of Church

Martin
Luther.
1517 - Thesis
1518 - disputation
1519 Sermonic
disputation.
1520 Papal bull
burned
1521. Diet of Worms
1522. " at
Nuremberg.
1524. 2nd Diet
at Nuremberg.
1525. Battle
of Pavia
1526. 1st Diet
at Spire
1527. Rome
sacked by the
Swiss.
1528. Papal
alliance with
Charles.
1529. 2nd Diet
at Spire.
1530. Diet at
August 4.

This and other novel ideas were still simmering vaguely in his mind, when there occurred an event—Luther was then at Wittenberg, capital of Saxony, where he occupied a chair at the university^k—which forced from him an expression of opinion.

The ninety-five theses against Indulgences.

In 1517 John Tetzel, a Dominican friar, arrived in Saxony with a wallet of papal Indulgences. An Indulgence was a remission of punishment for certain acts of sin. It was originally granted only upon honest contrition, and as long as it was thus guarded from abuse had in it nothing unchristian. But the doctrine of Indulgences, like much else in the Catholic Church, had become vulgarized, especially after the Popes had discovered that it might be made useful as a source of income; they began to sell Indulgences, without bothering about the contrition. During the reign of the brilliant Medicean Pope, Leo X. (1513–1521), who had wars to conduct and a church of St. Peter to build, the Papacy was particularly in need of money. Hence Tetzel's presence in Saxony with the tickets of pardon at large and small prices adjusted to the size of the sin.

Luther excites a general discussion.

Such vile traffic aroused a general indignation. 'Luther's distinction is that he alone had the courage to communicate his conviction on the practice to the public. On October 31, 1517, he nailed to the door of the castle church of Wittenberg, his famous ninety-five theses against Indulgences. His bold words raised an immediate echo of applause throughout the land. But they also stung the supporters of Tetzel and of rigid Catholicism to a vigorous answer, and out of the contention which followed arose triumphantly the Protestant Church.

When Luther published his ninety-five theses, he spoke as

obligations—mass, confession, etc., and so rendered Christianity superficial and external. Luther's view of Justification by Faith tried to lead men back to the necessity of the inner acceptance of God.

The Union of Wittenberg had been founded only a few years before, in 1527, by the Elector Frederick the Wise.

Luther develops his anti-Catholic opinions.

a son of Mother Church who was grieved at an excrescence which in his eyes injured her good name. But the opposition which he encountered in the next few years, forced him to submit the whole system of the Catholic Church to an investigation, and soon he discovered, not without sorrow and surprise, that there was much else in Catholicism besides Indulgences which he could not accept. By 1520 he had even reached and published the conviction that the Papacy itself was a usurpation for which there was no Biblical sanction. Leo X., easy-going and absorbed in pleasures, had been inclined at first to sneer at the trouble in Germany as "a squabble of monks," but Luther's increasing audacity finally put an end to his patience. In 1520 he hurled his bull of excommunication at the heretic. It remained to be seen whether Luther's courage would be broken by this means and the threatening schism of the Church averted. Conflicts in the past had frequently been followed by the humble submission of the disturber. But Luther was apparently made of severer stuff than his predecessors in rebellion; at any rate he was not easily browbeaten. It is not too much to say that the face of the whole contemporary world was at this critical moment turned upon him. Nothing daunted, he met the first onset of the Church with lofty courage. As soon as the papal document arrived, he burned it, amidst a great concourse of partisans, before the gate of Wittenberg (1520). By this act Luther definitely severed his connection with the Church of Rome. The attempted reform of the Church had been rejected by the Church itself; therefore it was clear that reform could only be realized by a revolution, ending in the establishment of a new Christian faith.

If the excommunicated heretic did not suffer the penalty of death for his act of audacity in burning the bull, it was because a large part of the German people stood firmly by

* 1518 occurred debate with Cajetan.
 " " " " Miltitz.
 1519 " Disputation at Leipzig.

him, and because he enjoyed the protection of the powerful elector of Saxony. But the Pope had been insulted, and the emperor, as the head of Germany, could not afford to let the insult pass unnoticed. The emperor of the day was the youthful Charles V. (Charles I. of Spain), who had been elected to the office upon the death of his grandfather, Maximilian (1519). Charles was at this very moment on his way to Germany, having called a Diet at the city of Worms on the Rhine, in order to consider the affairs of his new country. Before this parliament of electors, princes, and cities, presided over by the emperor, Luther was summoned to answer for his conduct. To reassure him, the emperor gave him a formal promise that he might come and return undisturbed. Nevertheless, his friends supplicated him not to go, reminding him of the fate of Huss at Constance. "I would go even if there were as many devils there as there are tiles on the house-roofs," he answered, fearlessly. On April 17, 1521, he appeared before the Diet.

Luther called
before the
emperor.

The scene is one of the impressive spectacles of history. The poor monk stood for the first time in his life before a brilliant concourse of princes and bishops, who for the most part turned upon him eyes of scorn and hatred. He was invited to recant. If he had been cowed the Reformation might have ended then and there. But he found strength in his conscience. "Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise. God help me, Amen," were the closing words of his defence. Germany applauded him to the echo; he had won the day. But his friends were concerned for his safety, and the elector of Saxony, his providential master, took charge of his person in order to secure him from violence, and conveyed him to a sure hiding-place in Thuringia, called the Wartburg.

The Diet
of Worms,
1521.

While Luther was being conveyed to his retreat the emperor at Worms had come to a decision. Charles was an

inexperienced youth, just twenty-one years of age, but he was endowed with political ambition and capacity, and felt instinctively that Luther, if allowed to go on, would cause a schism in Germany which would still further weaken the already weak position of the emperor. Moreover, Charles was a good Catholic, and though favorable to a reform of the Church, would not hear of effecting it against the will of the ecclesiastical authorities. Finally, he was about to begin a war against Francis I. of France for the possession of Milan, and for this enterprise he argued that he would need the alliance of the Pope. For all these reasons Charles published, on May 26, 1521, a decree of outlawry, called the Edict of Worms, against Luther, by which the heretic's life was declared forfeit and his writings forbidden. Having thus settled, as he airily thought, the German difficulties at a stroke, Charles set out for Italy to begin the war against France.

The Edict
of Worms.

But the movement of the Reformation had already acquired too great a momentum to be stopped by an imperial order. If Charles could have remained in Germany to see personally to the execution of his decree against Luther, or if the real power in Germany had not lain with the princes, who, from the nature of the case, were divided in their sympathy, the history of the Reformation might have been different. As it was, however, Charles had interests in Spain, America, Italy, and the Netherlands, which often engaged him wholly, and the princes, if Catholic, half-heartedly received, and if Protestant, solemnly rejected the Edict of Worms. Under these conditions the Reformation was for some time left to itself, and that proved its salvation.

The Edict of
Worms is not
executed.

The Protestant opinions of Luther and his followers made a rapid conquest of Germany. Monasteries were dissolved, and priests and bishops abjuring their allegiance to Rome instituted in the place of the Latin Mass a simpler worship which they conducted in the national idiom. With such

The progress
of the
Reformation.

ferment of opinion possessing the whole country, it is not unnatural that wild agitators occasionally caught the ear of the masses. In fact, the Reformation was not many months old before its welfare was threatened more by its own extreme elements than by its Catholic opponents. Nobody saw this more clearly than Luther. He was resolved that the movement should travel a sure road and at a moderate pace, and that whoever should venture to compromise it by extravagances and illusions, or whoever should attempt to use it for ends other than those of the religious reform with which it had originated, must be abruptly excluded from his party. These certainly not unwise considerations explain Luther's attitude toward the revolutions of the next eventful years.

Luther's con-
flict with the
radicals at
Wittenberg.

Luther was still living concealed in the Wartburg,¹ when startling things occurred in the Saxon capital of Wittenberg. Radicals, who called themselves prophets or anabaptists, and who were led by one Carlstadt, had begun to preach the destruction of the images which adorned the Catholic churches, and similar acts of violence. Luther, hearing of Carlstadt's nefarious activity, abruptly left the Wartburg and appeared among his flock (1522). His powerful word immediately brought his people back to order and the "prophets" fled.

The peasant
revolt, 1525.

But the revolutionary tendencies aroused by Luther's call to spiritual freedom were already spreading like wildfire. A rising of the knights of the Rhine region, among whom the bold humanist, Hutten, had appeared to preach the doctrine of liberty, had hardly been put down (1522-23), when the peasants of southwestern and central Germany, resolved that the proposed religious reform should also bring with it a reform of their social and political condition, re-

¹ During his retirement Luther began one of his most memorable works, the translation of the Bible into German.

volted against their masters. The condition of the peasants in Germany was indeed wretched. They were mere serfs of the soil, whose lives were first their masters', then their own.¹ The message of the Reformation fell upon them like a ray of hope from heaven. So they rose, these poor folk, and unguided as they were, or worse than unguided, since the incompetent revolutionary dreamers and scoundrels whom Luther had denounced and driven out of Wittenberg were their leaders, they butchered their lords and created an insufferable anarchy. As usual the imperial authorities were incapable of taking any action. But the local authorities, that is, the princes, got together an army and scattered the disordered bands of the peasants to the winds (1525). Hounded on by Luther in coarse pamphlets the victors massacred the poor insurgents until more than 50,000 had been cut down. Luther's partisanship seemed especially inexcusable to the supporters of the peasants, as he had first written a letter in which he had expressed his sympathy with their cause.

Historians have usually found fault with Luther for his attitude in this matter. Certainly his brutal language and his excited championship of the princes is inexcusable, but just as certainly he was right from his own point of view in trying to keep the problem of Church reform as uninvolved as possible with social and political aspirations, however laudable these were in themselves. The poor down-trodden peasants, like the fanatic "prophets" of Wittenberg, threatened to compromise his movement before the eyes of Europe, and Luther knew that if it was once understood to be identical with anarchy, it was lost.

Luther's
point of view.

¹ The abject condition of the peasants is best brought out by the twelve articles in which they formulated their demands. Some of these were: game and fish to be free to all, all service beyond the original contract to be paid for in wages, and arbitrary punishments to be put an end to. The demands are moderate throughout and involve no more than is granted everywhere in our time as a matter of course.

The wars of
France and
Spain.

While these things were going on in Germany, Charles V. was wholly engaged with the war against France. In fact, the wars with France continued throughout his reign and prevented him from ever giving his full attention to the German Reformation. There were altogether four wars, covering the following periods: 1st war, 1521-26; 2d war, 1527-29; 3d war, 1536-38; 4th war, 1542-44.

The first war;
battle of
Pavia.

The first war ended with the signal triumph of Charles. Charles's general defeated the French army at Pavia in Italy (1525) and took the king of France himself, Francis I., captive. "All is lost save honor," was the resigned message which this chivalrous monarch sent his mother at Paris. Charles had his royal prisoner transported to Madrid and there he wrung from him a peace (1526), by which Francis ceded Milan and parts of France itself (Burgundy and Artois) to Charles.

The second
war and sack
of Rome,
1527.

But hardly had Francis regained his liberty when he hastened to renew the war. Charles had overstrained the bow. Francis could buy peace by the cession to his enemy of Milan, a foreign conquest, but as long as there was life in France, her king could not grant nor could she accept a partition of her territory. The Pope and Henry VIII. of England, who had hitherto favored Charles in the struggle between France and Spain, now went over to Francis from fear that the emperor was striving for the supremacy in Europe. The most noteworthy incident of the second war was the sack of Rome (1527). The great French nobleman, the duke of Bourbon, who had turned traitor and had been put by Charles at the head of a mixed troop of Spaniards and of German Protestants, was ordered to march against the Pope for the purpose of punishing him for his alliance with Francis. At the moment at which the walls of the papal capital were scaled Bourbon fell, and the rabble soldiery, left without a master, put Rome to a frightful pillage.

Although the advantage in the second as in the first war remained with Charles, he offered Francis somewhat more acceptable terms (temporary retention by Francis of Burgundy) in new negotiations, which ended in the so-called Ladies' Peace of Cambray (1529). After the peace Charles had himself crowned emperor at Bologna (1529), and figured in history as the first emperor¹ who was crowned elsewhere than at Rome and the last who held it worth his while to be crowned at all.

Charles crowned emperor.

Charles, temporarily rid of France, was now resolved to look once more into German affairs. In 1530, after an absence of almost ten years, he again turned his face northward. The Reformation was by this time an accomplished fact, but Charles, who during his absence had received his information from Catholic partisans and through hearsay, still inclined, as at Worms, to treat it as a trifle. He was destined to be rudely awakened. A Diet had been called to meet him at the city of Augsburg. At the summons a brilliant assembly of both Lutheran and Catholic princes came together. In a dictatorial manner Charles abruptly demanded of his estates that the Edict of Worms be at length executed throughout Germany, and that all unauthorized Church innovations be straightway abandoned. Thereupon the Lutheran princes resolved to remonstrate with the emperor. They bade Luther's friend and co-worker, Melancthon, who was the greatest scholar of the Reformation and one of its most attractive figures, to draw up a fair statement of the Lutheran beliefs. This statement, under the name of the Confession of Augsburg, won such favor among Protestant² contemporaries, that it straightway be-

Charles returns to Germany. The Diet of Augsburg, 1530.

¹ Strictly speaking, Louis the Pious is the first mediæval emperor who was not crowned at Rome. But as Louis lived seven hundred years before Charles, at a time when the ideas of the mediæval Empire were not yet fixed, his case hardly furnishes a precedent.

² The Lutherans had acquired the name of Protestants, from the *protest*

The League
of Schmalk-
alden.

Postponement
of the
civil war.

came and has since remained the platform of the Lutheran Church. Melancthon's document the princes then humbly presented to the emperor, in the hope that he might be convinced thereby that there was nothing in Protestantism which was dangerous to the state. But Charles was not to be moved from his opposition. He closed the Diet of Augsburg with a statement in which he reiterated his first demand. As the Protestants had in consequence every reason to anticipate a struggle with the emperor, they united in a great defensive league, which from the place of meeting received the name of the League of Schmalkalden.

Both sides now stood opposed to each other, ready for action; but just as civil war seemed to have become inevitable, the news reached Germany that the Turks were about to attack Vienna. The Turks had already carried the terror of their name into eastern Germany two years before. In face of a danger threatening all alike, the civil struggle had, of course, to be postponed. In an agreement which Charles signed with the Protestants at Nuremberg (1532), he abandoned the measures which he had advocated at Augsburg, and was thus enabled to march against the Turks at the head of a brilliant army representing united Germany. Before this display of force the Turks fell back. On his return Charles found other things to do than fight the German Protestants. The Mohammedan pirates of the north coast of Africa, who were engaged in destroying the European commerce, urgently demanded his attention. For the next few years he gave his time to the destruction of their strongholds in Tunis and Tripoli, and thus the suppression of Protestantism in Germany was again postponed. To Charles all this must have been hard to bear. The

which they published in 1529 (at the Diet of Speier) against the execution of the Edict of Worms.

French, the Turks, and the African pirates were among them keeping his hands full, and were always intercepting his arm at the very moment at which he was about to draw his sword against the Protestant revolution.

In the following year there broke out a third war with Francis I. of France (1536-38), only to be succeeded by the fourth and last (1542-44), which was concluded by the Peace of Crespy. In this peace Charles definitely gave up his claim to Burgundy. But the most striking feature of these last two wars, a feature which among contemporary Europeans caused an unspeakable surprise, was the alliance which Francis concluded against Charles with Soliman the Magnificent, the Turkish Sultan. A union between Christians and Mohammedans presented an unprecedented spectacle, and the contemporary world was unable to read the meaning of this new departure. To us, however, it is plain. In the modern world which, in the sixteenth century, was gradually taking shape, religious considerations were to yield the place to the great political interests of monarchs and nations.

New wars.
Alliance
between
Francis I. and
the Turks.

The peace of Crespy set Charles free to try once more to eradicate the German heresy. His propositions for an amicable settlement having been steadily rejected by the Protestants, he was now resolved to try force. As a result of his open preparations for war the league of the Protestant princes and cities, the so-called League of Schmalkalden, began to provide for its defence. At the moment at which hostilities threatened to begin, Luther, the much-struggling and much-suffering, died (1546). He was spared the pain of seeing his countrymen in arms against each other because of a movement of which he had been the creator. His life throughout was brave and simple, and if it is stained with outbursts of coarseness and vulgarity, it is the part of generosity to ascribe them to the difficult circumstances in

The death of
Luther, 1546.

which he, the untrained monk, called suddenly to the post of danger and of action, had been placed. If he has become dear to the German people and to the Protestant world in general, it is not only because he created the new faith, but also because his large, hale figure, which we picture seated at the family board and surrounded by a circle of fresh young faces, breathes a broad sympathy and humanity.¹

The first war
of religion in
Germany.

The first war of religion in Germany, called the war of Schmalkalden, broke out in the year of Luther's death (1546). The Protestant forces, led by the foremost Protestant princes, John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse, lacked order and direction. Charles, advancing step by step, ended the war at one stroke at the battle of Mühlberg (1547), where the leading Protestant prince, the elector of Saxony, was taken prisoner. The triumph of the emperor was in no small measure due to the treachery of a Protestant prince and relative of the elector, Maurice of Saxony. Maurice was a capable, unscrupulous man, who for the price of the electorate of his relative, lent Charles his aid. The price once paid, he remembered that he, too, was a Protestant, and gradually cutting loose from the emperor prepared to undo the consequences of the victory of Mühlberg.

The defeat of
the emperor.

Charles, after the victory of Mühlberg, which had ended with the complete submission of the Protestants, undertook to heal the schism by dictating terms of peace. He prepared a union of the Protestant and Catholic Churches through a measure called the *Interim*. The *Interim* established a *modus vivendi* for Protestants, until the great Church Council which was sitting at Trent had determined what

¹ Among other Catholic practices, Luther condemned also the celibacy of the clergy. In the year 1525 he, the monk, married a nun, Catharine Bora, who, like him, had renounced her vows. The family life of Luther deserves study, and will be found to have a real poetic flavor.

was to be done with them. The Protestant world felt with consternation that in this half-way measure lay the beginning of the end. An increasing discontent grew soon to a revolutionary enthusiasm, and when Maurice of Saxony came back to his co-religionists, Germany suddenly rose, and Charles found himself helpless before the united demonstration (1552). Maurice might even have taken him captive. "I have no cage for so fine a bird," he is reported to have said. So the emperor escaped. But his life-long war against the Lutheran heresy had come to an end. Broken by defeat, but too proud to acknowledge it, he ordered his brother Ferdinand to sign a preliminary peace with the Protestants. At the Diet of Augsburg, in the year 1555, a final peace, known as the Religious Peace of Augsburg, was ratified by the emperor and the estates.

In the Peace of Augsburg the Lutheran Church received legal recognition as an independent ecclesiastical establishment. It was determined that every estate of the Diet, that is, every prince or imperial city, should have the right to accept or reject the Lutheran faith and then, as conviction urged, to introduce it into or banish it from his province. Tolerance for the rulers but not for the people, after the principle *cujus regio, ejus religio* (religion pertains to the territorial lord), was made, in accordance with the still feudal notions of the day, the fundamental principle of the Protestant-Catholic adjustment. However, though the principle of the equality of the two faiths was in general established, one important article, called the Ecclesiastical Reservation, was introduced in favor of the old Church. There still were in the year 1555 a large number of bishoprics and archbishoprics in Germany, Mainz, Cologne, Würzburg, Münster, etc., with territorial possessions amounting perhaps to one-sixth of the whole German soil. These properties it was agreed in the Ecclesiastical Reser-

The terms of the Peace of Augsburg, 1555.

The Ecclesiastical Reservation.

vation should never be reformed, but should remain the possession of the Roman Church ; therefore, if a bishop should turn Protestant, that action would be admissible for his own person*, but he would have to resign his see and allow the chapter to elect another and a Catholic bishop in his place. It was this article providing so tenderly for the Catholic interests which soon caused much confusion, because it was found in practice that it could not be kept ; and in the end the quarrels resulting from it brought on a second war.

Henry II. of France conquers the three bishoprics.

The victory of the Protestants over the emperor was not purchased without a heavy loss for Germany. Maurice of Saxony had found it necessary, in order to make sure of victory, to ally himself with Henry II. of France, and in the same year (1552) in which Maurice drove the emperor over the Alps, Henry II. invaded Germany and occupied the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Although Charles laid siege to Metz immediately upon the reestablishment of peace with the Protestants, the French were able to beat him off and retain possession of their conquests.

Abdication of the emperor. Division of the Hapsburg dominions.

The emperor, whose life was worn out with his long conflicts and labors, could not recover from the blow of these last disasters. He abdicated his crown (1556) and retired to the monastery of San Yuste in Spain, where he died two years later. Hardly in the history of the world has so proud a life set so humbly. Upon his abdication the vast Hapsburg possessions, which he had held in his sole hand, were divided. His son Philip got Spain (with her colonies), the Italian territory (Naples and Milan), and the Netherlands. His brother, Ferdinand, got the Austrian lands and therewith the imperial crown. Henceforth until the extinction of the Spanish line (1700) we have in Europe two Hapsburg Houses, a Spanish and an Austrian branch.

* And, by an accompanying declaration of Ferdinand (I.), when Charles had appointed to negotiate the Peace, all the subjects of the emperor were to have a share in the

(See end of book.)

CHAPTER II

THE PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE AND THE COUNTER REFORMATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH

THE Protestant Reformation spread rapidly from Germany over the Teutonic north, and even made inroads upon France, Italy, and Spain. It met with opposition everywhere; sometimes it was suppressed, sometimes it forced the governments to recognize it; but wherever it raised its head, its form was modified more or less by the national character of the people among whom it appeared, and by the local circumstances.

The spread of
Protestantism.

The success of the Reformation was most complete and rapid in the Scandinavian north.* Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, the three Scandinavian powers, had been united under one king since the Union of Calmar (1397). At the beginning of the sixteenth century the Union fell apart, Sweden having revolted and established her independence under the native house of Vasa. Denmark and Norway, on the other hand, remained united, under a Danish king, down to the time of Napoleon. The political confusion that was occasioned in Scandinavia by the struggle of Sweden for independence favored the religious innovations. Within twenty years after Luther's proclamation against Indulgences (1517), the Lutheran Church had become the sole and state Church of all the Scandinavian countries. The north produced no great reformer of its own, and therefore accepted the Church of its nearest neighbor, Germany.

Denmark,
Norway, and
Sweden ac-
cept Lutheran-
ism.

* Fisher, ch. VI.
Häusser, chs. XI. & XII.
~~Seebohm~~

The Reformation in Switzerland. Ulrich Zwingli.

The case was different with Switzerland. Switzerland consisted, in the sixteenth century, of a dozen or so of cantons, all technically a part of the Empire, but practically constituting independent republics, bound together in a very loose federation. In 1518 Ulrich Zwingli,* a priest of the Canton of Glarus, made an energetic protest against the doctrine of Indulgences. By transferring his activity to Zurich, the intellectual centre of the country, he soon gathered around himself a powerful party of reform. His success in Switzerland was as immediate and signal as that of Luther in Germany.

Zwingli always maintained that he had arrived at his reform doctrines in complete independence of Luther. There is every reason to believe that this assertion is true. It simply goes to prove that there was in Europe a general trend of opinion toward reform. After an attempt at a union between himself and Luther had failed, chiefly, it must be confessed, through Luther's fault, Zwingli established his own Reformed Church in Switzerland.¹ All the Swiss cantons, however, could not be won to the new faith. The simple and uneducated foresters and mountaineers of the upper Alps (inhabitants of the so-called Forest Cantons) remained staunchly Catholic. Only the Cantons on the Swiss border, which were under the influence of the two progressive cities, Zurich and Berne, accepted Zwingli's teaching. In the war between the two faiths which followed (1531), the Catholic cantons won the decisive victory of Cappel. As Zwingli himself fell on this occasion, the Catholics might have driven a hard bargain. Nevertheless they concluded peace with the Protestants on the same basis as the Catholics and Protestants of Germany did a few years

¹ Zwingli's Reformed Church differed little from the Lutheran Church. The only serious difference—a difference which caused Luther to reject the proffered union—touched the doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

* For the Zwinglian movement, see
Fischer, ch. IV. | Lines of Zwingli
Häusser, .. X. | by Hauser & Co. Zurich.
Zwingli's Life & Lines of Zwingli, - Hollinger.

University of Vienna (College) 2 yrs.
Wesley (primary) 2 yrs.
Basle (grammar) 3 yrs.
Berne (academical) 3 yrs.
Religious division of the Swiss. (grad) 2

later at Augsburg: each local government or canton was allowed to accept or reject the Reformed faith as it pleased. In consequence of this settlement, Switzerland, like Germany, is partly Catholic and partly Protestant to this day.

A little after these events in the eastern or German part of Switzerland, there arose in the western or French part another great Protestant leader, whose influence was destined to become more wide than that of Luther himself. This leader was John Calvin, and the city which he made famous as the great hearth of the new Protestant worship was Geneva.*

The Reformation in Geneva.

Geneva, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, occupied a curious political position, which may be qualified as a half-way station between mediæval and modern conditions. The city, like many another mediæval town, had acquired a limited self-government, but its old feudal masters, the duke of Savoy and the bishop of Geneva, still exercised over it a number of sovereign rights. Since these rights were irksome to the citizens, the Genevese began to crave complete independence; they engaged in war, and having, with the aid of the western cantons of the Swiss Confederation, roundly beaten both the duke of Savoy and the bishop of Geneva, they undertook to govern their city as a free community (1535). Henceforth the republic of Geneva leaned toward its ally, the Swiss Confederation, but did not become a formal member of it until toward the end of the century (1584). Meanwhile, the war for independence, engaged in by the city, had been accompanied by a second revolution. The feud against the bishop had drawn the wrath of the Genevese upon the Catholic Church and gradually driven them into the arms of Protestantism. It was only after this double revolution, culminating in political freedom and in Protestantism, had been achieved, that

Geneva becomes independent.

See article in the Amer. Hist. Review, Vol. 2, on Geneva before the Reformation. The Reformation in Geneva.

Geneva becomes Protestant.

* For the Genevan movement, see Fisher, ch. VII. | Life of Calvin by Beza, Häusser, "XVIII." | in Calvin's Tracts, Vol. I, pp. 18-20. Tulloch, Leaders of the Reformation, — Calvin.

there began the connection with Geneva of the man who gave the revolution in that city its final form and made it famous.

The life of Calvin.

It was a stroke of chance which brought John Calvin to Geneva. He was born in the province of Picardy, in France, in 1509, studied law, and during his student days at Orléans and Paris came into contact with advocates of the Reform movement. Having been forced in consequence of his enthusiastic acceptance of the new faith to flee from France, he spent his exile engaged in hard studies in Germany and Switzerland. He closed this period of his life with the publication of his theological masterpiece, the "Institutes of the Christian Religion" (1536), which was long regarded as the completest doctrinal justification of the Protestant faith in existence. It was shortly after this work had appeared that he undertook a visit to France, which brought him for a night's rest to Geneva (1536).

Calvin comes to Geneva.

The Protestant faith had only been introduced into Geneva the year before, and was still in a most precarious condition. Farel, the leading preacher of Geneva, learning of the presence in the town of the famous theologian, called upon him, to engage him to lend his aid in the evangelization of the city. Calvin declined the offer; his life work, he told Farel, was marked out for him; it was not that of the soldier in the ranks, but concerned itself with study and scholarship. Then Farel arose and solemnly pronounced a curse upon him, for refusing, for the sake of his ease, to fight the battles of the Lord. The unexpected accusation shook Calvin to the very roots of his nature. When he spoke again, it was to accept a place in the band of the Protestant workers of Geneva.

Calvin, lord of Geneva.

The work which Calvin now entered upon lasted, with the exception of a short exile, until his death (1536-64). Hardly ever in the history of the world has a man held a

community so like clay in his hands as Calvin did the fair city on the shores of Lake Leman.

The formal organization of the city government he did not at once change, but he profoundly affected the administration of affairs by impressing upon the governors of the city that, as the officials of a Christian government, they were established for the purpose of enforcing God's commands. The best interpreters of these commands, he insisted, at the same time, were the clergy. From this it would naturally follow, that, although the Church was subject to the state, yet the Church, through the clergy, would practically dominate the state. It was due to the influence of Calvin's strong personality, that Geneva for many years presented the rare spectacle of Church and state working harmoniously together, each master in certain respects, yet subject to the other in others. In modern times certainly, the theocratic ideal of government has nowhere else been so completely realized.

He establishes a theocratic government.

Calvin is the father of the Presbyterian form of Church government. In the New Testament he found mention made of four distinct officers—the teacher, the pastor, the presbyter, and the deacon. These he regarded as divinely appointed and therefore necessary in every true Church. Accordingly, he made his schools an essential part of the Church, and chose for them the best Christian teachers possible. The importance which he attached to schools is shown by the fact that he ranked the teachers with the pastors. The presbyters (elders) were laymen, whose special duty was to oversee the morals of the people; the deacons were intrusted with the care of the poor. The government of the Church, as a whole, was in the hands of the teachers, pastors, and presbyters, who formed a consistory or presbytery. In theory the congregation, also, had

He establishes the Presbyterian form of Church government.

a certain voice in the government, but in Geneva, at least, if not in other Calvinistic Churches, the congregation was kept in strict subjection to the consistory. The authority of the consistory in Church matters became absolute.

Calvin super-
vises the
morals.

Calvin's chief concern was with the morals of his people. Convinced that the grand purpose of Christianity was right conduct, he bent all his energies toward securing it. To this end, he attempted to regulate in all its details the life of the city. All kinds of amusement were forbidden, as likely to lead to excess and sin, and fines were imposed on every thoughtless word and deed. Attendance on prayer-meetings and the singing of psalms were the only permissible forms of recreation. The citizens were required to devote themselves wholly to the serious service of God. Naturally enough, not all the people were able or willing to repress their good spirits, and therefore endeavored to evade the severe regulations imposed upon them. The consistory in such cases resorted to the most arbitrary methods, and practically made of itself an inquisitorial body. In everything, except the name, the Inquisition was established in Geneva, and not without bloody results. Under this pressure the gay and joyous city assumed the character of a staid monastery. Calvin became the father of Puritanism, and Geneva the first Puritan congregation.

The case of
Servetus.

The famous case of Servetus may serve to remind us that the Protestants were then as far from granting religious liberty as the Catholics. Servetus was a learned physician,¹ who denied the doctrine of the Trinity. There was a literary quarrel of long standing between him and Calvin, and when, in the year 1553, he ventured, in a foolhardy manner, into Geneva, Calvin had him arrested and convicted of heresy. Letters were dispatched to all the prom-

¹ It is said that he discovered the circulation of the blood.

inent Protestant teachers and preachers of Europe, and all were unanimous in declaring that Servetus should suffer death for denying what they were bound to consider an essential doctrine of their faith. He was accordingly burned at the stake (1553).

The fame of Calvin and his reformed city spread over all Europe, and thousands of exiles from Catholic lands fled thither. Geneva became a city of refuge to all the distressed Protestants of France, England, Scotland, and the Netherlands. Calvin labored for the spread of his doctrines in all these lands, and aided the exiles to return and work secretly as missionaries of the Reformed faith. In this way, and with the aid of other circumstances, he was able to replace the influence of Luther in all of the countries west of the Rhine, and even in parts of Germany itself, and to introduce into them his type of Protestantism. From the point of view of the success of the Reformation this was entirely well. For toward the middle of the century, Catholicism was marshaling its forces for an attack upon its revolted subjects, and the combative Calvinism was much better suited than the pliant Lutheranism to meet and rout the enemy.

The spread
of Calvinism.

Ever since the thirteenth century, there had been heard in all parts of Europe, loud and frequent calls for a reform of the Catholic Church. But the Popes, regardless of complaints, had gone their own way, seeking after wealth and political power. This secular policy produced its legitimate fruit in such Popes as Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X., who were, in a certain sense, capable men, but lacked all claims to personal holiness. At length, toward the middle of the sixteenth century, the Catholic Church, yielding to the reforming spirit, and determined to counteract the movement begun by Luther, instituted a series of reformatory measures.

The Catholic
Church turns
back upon its
path.

The reform of
the Papacy.

This Counter-Reformation^{*} in the Catholic Church, without changing the hierarchy or the doctrines, nevertheless brought about a real religious revival, especially among the Catholic clergy, and filled that body with new earnestness and zeal. The Popes themselves had been very slow to observe the change in the religious atmosphere of Europe at the beginning of the sixteenth century. They lingered in the Renaissance and its pleasant byways long after the rest of Europe had grown agitated over the question of saving its soul. Leo X. (1513-21) paid no attention to the Reformation, and had the courage to pronounce the astonishing opinion that it was a mere brawl begun by a drunken monk. Hadrian VI. (1522-23), his successor, who was a northerner by birth and acquainted with the northern passion for reform, was deeply in earnest, and sent his legate to the Diet of Nuremberg with a written confession of the shortcomings of the Papacy; but death cut short his pontificate, and his successors remained untouched by the religious change and indifferent to the increasingly earnest temper of Europe till the accession of Paul IV. (1555-59). Paul IV. was the first Pope who fully perceived the precarious condition of the Church. Without countenancing the least change in the Catholic system, he nevertheless inaugurated an era of reform by quietly abandoning many of the abuses about which there had been so much complaint. With him begins a long series of Popes who, in contrast to the easy manner of life fashionable with the Renaissance Popes, maintained a vigorous moral code and devoted themselves with eager zeal to ecclesiastical interests.

Symptoms of
the revival of
Catholic life.

➤ Prominent symptoms of a change in the temper of Catholicism were the translation of the Bible under Catholic direction into the popular tongues, its circulation among the Catholic laity, the enrichment of the Church services by the introduction of the singing of hymns in the

* Fisher, ch. XI. | Hard, The
Häuser, ch. XIX. & XX. | Counter-Reformation.

vernacular by the congregation, and more frequent addresses and sermons. The revival showed itself also in the formation of several new religious orders, such as the Theatines (1524) and the Capuchins (1525). The members of these new orders tried to exemplify the teachings of Jesus in their daily lives, and devoted themselves to practical Christian work, preaching, teaching, and caring for the poor and the sick. Their pure lives and their zeal did much to restore the religious life of the Catholic peoples. ↗

Of all the orders of the Counter-Reformation the Order of the Jesuits,* or "Regiment of Jesus," was, however, destined to play by far the most important rôle. It attained an immense membership, influenced the Councils of the Church, and by its clever missionary work won back to the Catholic faith many provinces which had accepted the doctrines of the Reformation. Its founder, Ignatius Loyola, was a Spanish nobleman whose highest ideal was that of a soldier until, in consequence of a severe wound received in the service of the king, his master (1521), he chanced to read some "Lives of the Saints." These so fired his imagination that he became filled with the desire to emulate the Christian heroes. His first efforts were wildly romantic and fruitless. He eventually saw that his education was not sufficient, and at thirty-three years of age he began to study Latin, philosophy, and theology. While at school in Paris he made the acquaintance of some kindred spirits, and with them he founded his new society (1534), for the purpose, at first, of doing missionary work among the Mohammedans. Circumstances prevented the sailing of the enthusiasts for the Orient, whereupon they resolved to go to Rome to offer their services to the Pope and also to secure his sanction for their order. In 1540, after considerable hesitation, Pope Paul III. confirmed the order and the rules which Loyola had composed for it.

The Order
of the
Jesuits.

* Michelet, *The Jesuits*.
Thompson, *The Footprints of the Jesuits*.

The organiza-
tion of the
Jesuits.

Loyola modelled his order after the army. Its fundamental principle was discipline. By a clever system of instruction which had regard for individual peculiarities, the candidates for the order were so trained as to become unhesitating and obedient tools in the hands of their master. Since they took a special vow of obedience to the Pope, this ruler soon saw their usefulness, and by heaping the order with honors, rights, and privileges, quickly made it the most powerful one in Europe.

The activities
of the Jesuits.

The Jesuits engaged in every kind of activity. They were famous preachers and confessors, and became especially expert in dealing with the Catholic conscience and in caring for souls. They carried on foreign mission work on a grand scale, planting their stations in all parts of the world. Realizing that youth is the most impressionable age, they fostered education. By their superior methods of instruction they attracted to their schools the best young men of the time, and instilled into them the doctrines of their faith. For more than a hundred years they led Europe in education. They devoted themselves also to politics and became cunning diplomats and intriguers. Everywhere they made themselves felt, and it was due in great measure to their comprehensive and untiring efforts, that Protestantism was destroyed in Italy, Spain, France, Poland, and in the dominions of the Hapsburgs, and that these lands remained attached to the Catholic Church. Even in the Protestant countries, Germany, England, and Scandinavia, the Jesuits were able to bring their Church into prominence again, and to put into jeopardy the existence of the Reformed Churches. Their work in the high places of the world was especially successful, and in the course of the seventeenth century, Germany was startled by the news of the return of many a Protestant prince to the bosom of mother Church. Among their greatest triumphs is the con-

version of the Stuarts and of the electoral House of that country, Saxony, which was the cradle of the Reformation.

Perhaps the most important factor of the Counter-Reformation was the Council of Trent.* The Council of Trent (in session at intervals, 1545-63), rendered the Catholic Church the signal service of unifying the Catholic doctrines as they had never been unified before. In the body of the tradition of the Catholic Church there were many conflicting tendencies and records. These differences the Council of Trent removed, and then formulated the Catholic creed anew, in sharp opposition to the doctrines set up by the Protestants. There were many Catholics present at this Council who were inclined to a compromise with the Protestants for the sake of making the Church one again, but the strict papal party, under the leadership of the Jesuits, was able to prevent the Council from making any concession. The acts of this Council now constitute the creed of the Catholic Church. Only a few important additions have since been made; such are, for instance, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, which was announced in the year 1854, and the doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope, which was promulgated at the Council of the Vatican, in the year 1870.

The Council
of Trent.

The last important factor which contributed to the success of the Counter-Reformation, was the Inquisition. The Inquisition, called also the *sanctum officium* (Holy Office), was an ecclesiastical court, established for the purpose of tracing and punishing heresy. The penalty, which the judges or inquisitors pronounced, was usually confiscation of property or death, and was executed by the civil authorities. The Inquisition was not an invention of the Counter-Reformation. In a mild form it existed throughout the Middle Age. Pope Innocent III. (1198-1216) first organized it effectively, and had himself the pleasure

The Inquisition.

* *Cramp, The Council of Trent.*

of seeing its complete success against the Albigenses. Naturally, the zealots of the Counter-Reformation began early to urge its employment against the heretical followers of Luther and Calvin. Owing, however, to the abhorrence with which the Inquisition, because of its terrible and vague prerogative, filled the people, and owing further to the jealousy of the governments, which dreaded the interference of an ecclesiastical court, this engine of repression was not everywhere admitted. A notable activity it exhibited only in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. In the last-named country it produced quite the opposite effect of that intended ; but in Italy and Spain it operated with such complete success, that the Reformation no sooner showed in those countries signs of life than it was crushed.

CHAPTER III

SPAIN UNDER CHARLES I. (1516-56), KNOWN AS EMPEROR CHARLES V., AND PHILIP II. (1556-98); HER WORLD EMINENCE AND HER DECAY *

FROM the Spanish national point of view, it was a great misfortune that Charles I. (1516-56) was elected to the Empire in 1519, and became Emperor Charles V. Henceforth, having duties to perform in Germany, he could no longer give his whole time to Spain. In fact, from the time of his imperial election, he seems gradually to have lost sight of the national point of view; he became, above all, desirous of playing a grand European rôle, and that naturally brought with it a division of his service and a perpetual compromise of the interests of all the nations which he represented. Now the interests of Spain and Germany were not necessarily opposed. One great interest, the defeat of the Turks, who were pushing along the Danube into Germany, and along the Mediterranean toward Spain, they even had in common; but what had Germany to do with the emperor's Italian wars or his colonial policy, and what benefit did Spain derive from his life-long struggle against Protestantism? Moreover, Charles being the absolute monarch of Spain, the governmental machinery was utterly dependent upon his direction, and yet, of a reign of forty years, he spent in Spain hardly fifteen. It is true he was the greatest political figure of his day and his fellow-actors upon the European stage shrank to pigmy size when he made his entrance; it is true, he was of tire-

The reign of Charles I., 1516-56.

* Fischer, pp. 406-10; Robertson, *Charles Häusser*, ch. XXI. | *the Fifth*.

less activity and with all seriousness tried to live up to the demands which the old illusory ideal of the emperor, the arbiter of the world, made upon him ; but it is also true that his grandeur was a personal grandeur, and not identified with the nation, as is the case with the world's great sovereigns, for instance, Elizabeth of England and Henry IV. of France. In a word, Charles used the Spanish resources for his own, and not for Spanish ends.

The beginning
of the decay
of Spain.

Because of Charles's half-hearted devotion to Spain, Spain suffered irremediable internal injuries during his outwardly brilliant reign. In fact, her gradual decay may be dated from his time. To prove this, we need only examine the events of Charles's history. We have heard of the emperor's long wars against the French and the Turks in connection with his reign in Germany. These wars were waged notably with Spanish men and Spanish money ; without bringing an adequate return they drained the country of its blood and of its gold. Further, the absolutism which under Ferdinand had been employed against the nobles and had stood for order and progress, came to be used under Charles as an instrument of popular repression. Thus, when at the outset of Charles's reign there was a great revolt of the cities, it was suppressed (1521) with terrible severity, and the liberties which the towns had hitherto enjoyed were practically annulled. The Parliament (Cortes) of Castile, too, was condemned to a loss of its dignity and influence. A people which loses its political rights is in danger of losing, sooner or later, its vitality. And to make things worse, in the place of the free institutions which Charles ruined, there arose, more threatening than ever, the colossal instrument of religious and political tyranny, the Inquisition. The cruel executions of Moors and Jews, which had been popularized under Ferdinand and Isabella, continued, with the same zest, under Charles.

Whatever else pertaining to Charles's reign was unpopular, these holocausts of heretical victims the sincere and fervid intolerance of the Spanish people accepted with entire satisfaction.

What could Protestantism hope of such a country, devoted to its faith with mediæval fanaticism? True, small groups of Lutherans began to form here and there, notably in Seville and Valladolid. But when Charles first heard of them, seized with incontrollable rage, he ordered the inquisitors to pluck out the heresy, root and branch. So Protestantism got no foothold in Spain.

Protestantism
in Spain.

The last thirteen years of his reign Charles spent in Germany. The Protestant successes there broke his spirit, and he resigned his crowns in 1556, Spain to his son Philip, Austria to his brother Ferdinand (see Chapter I., page 46). Philip II. (1556-98) on his accession found himself at the head of states (Spain and colonies, Naples, Milan, and the Netherlands) hardly less extensive than those which Charles had governed, and as he did not become emperor, he had, from the Spanish point of view, the great excellence over Charles, that he was a national king. As such, he endeared himself to his people and still lives in their memory.

Philip II.
succeeds to
the kingdom
of Spain.

It is curious that this same Philip, whom the Spaniards esteem so highly, should stand before the rest of Europe as the darkest tyrant and most persistent enemy of light and progress whom the age produced. To this traditional European picture there certainly belongs a measure of truth; but calm investigation teaches us that this truth is associated with prejudice and distorted by exaggeration. Philip II. was a severe, cold, and narrow-minded man, whose heart was in the Catholic faith and whose hand was at its service. Therefore his guiding thought, while there was life in him, was to maintain that faith—by bloody re-

The character
of Philip II.

pression of heresy through the Inquisition, where he had the power ; by war, where war was likely to prove feasible. Every Protestant when he thinks of Philip II. thinks of the Inquisition. But the Inquisition was not Philip's invention, nor did he, although he made a revolting use of it, handle it more cruelly than his predecessors. Indeed a close scrutiny of his life will convince us that the title "Demon of the South," which his enemies popularized, does him too much injury and also too much honor. Too much honor, for he no more possessed a demon-like fire and resolution than he was governed by the abominable vices traditionally associated with the Prince of Darkness. He was rather a slow, plodding burgher, who took his business of kingship very seriously, and who, but for his radical intolerance, would have been as foreign to any kind of enthusiasm as the head of a bank. He passed his days and his nights over state affairs. Every document had to go through his own hands. Historians who have examined his papers declare it incredible that so much matter should have been written by one man in one lifetime. In fact, work was his failing, for work with him degenerated into the rage for minutiae, and ended by enfeebling his grasp of essentials. In other respects, too, the comparison of this ogre of the Protestant mythology with a good typical burgher proves applicable. Out of business hours he was a tender and devoted father.¹ His letters to his daughters during an occasional absence are amiable, and in their own stately way even humorous.

Philip as the champion of Catholicism.

It is true that Philip became the champion of the Catholic reaction, which is to say that he identified himself with the greatest movement of his half of the century and

¹ His conduct toward his son, Don Carlos, has been the cause of frequent defamation of his name. The belief now is that his attitude was moderate and even admirable. Philip did not put his son under arrest until the plots and madness of Carlos threatened the safety of the state.

rushed into war with the Protestant world of the north. Catholic intolerance, doubtless, led him to take delight in this rôle, but he was far removed from being controlled in the conflict, like his father, Charles, by the mainspring of mere ambition. An impartial student must agree that his wars were as much forced upon him by Protestant aggression and the logical progress of events, as determined by his own Catholic impulses. As things stood, after the Council of Trent, a great Protestant-Catholic world-war was inevitable. It came by way of the Spanish Netherlands. The Netherlands revolted, and Philip set about putting down the revolt. His measures there were barbarous; they were the traditional Spanish measures, the rack and the fagot; worst of all, from the political point of view, they proved inadequate in the end. The Netherlands could not be pacified by Philip, and gradually won the sympathies and secured the aid of the French Huguenots and the German and English Protestants. So the war widened; finding herself opposed in the Netherlands by the united Protestant peoples, Spain, in order to secure the Catholic sympathies, put herself forward as the champion of the Pope and of Catholicism.

It is from this stand-point of the inevitableness of the religious struggle that Philip's wars should be considered.¹ They all centre about the war with the Netherlands. This famous war will be treated in detail in another chapter. It began soon after Philip's accession, and turned to the advantage of the Dutch, largely because they succeeded in interesting the whole Protestant world in their heroic struggle. Protestantism, gradually becoming aware of the

The Dutch war involves Philip with the English.

¹ A war with France (1556-59), which took place at the beginning of his reign, for purely political reasons, deserves to be kept distinct from these later wars, all of which have a certain religious character. This war was a triumph for Philip, and was concluded by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559); it is memorable as the last great success of Spain against France. Henceforth the tables are turned.

Catholic reaction, came to feel itself threatened in its very existence by the power of Spain, the avowed champion of that reaction. Closely and more closely the Protestant peoples crowded about brave Holland. Philip saw himself gradually engaged in a world-war; to the war with the Dutch rebels was added a war with the French Huguenots under Henry of Navarre, and a war with the England of Elizabeth. Furiously Philip turned at length upon his leading Protestant enemy, upon England.

The Armada,
1588.

The height of the struggle between Spain and England was the sending of the great fleet, the Armada, against the heretic island-kingdom (1588). The Atlantic waters had never seen the like; but the expedition failed miserably by reason of the superior skill and audacity of the English sailors and the disasters caused by wind and water. Philip bore his defeat with dignified resignation. He spoke unaffectedly of the deep grief it caused him "not to be able to render God this great service." But the destruction of the Armada settled the fate of the religious war. It determined that the Dutch should not be reconquered; it established the Protestant world henceforth securely against the Catholic reaction; and it prepared a naval successor for degenerate Spain in youthful England. //

The Dutch and the English were not Philip's only enemies. Worse heretics than the Protestants, the Mohammedan Turks, engaged his attention during his whole reign. The Turks were then, and continued for some generations to be, the terror of the west. Austria, Venice, and Spain suffered most heavily from their raids and conquests. The Mohammedan pirates of northern Africa constantly plundered the Spanish coasts; bit by bit the Turks reduced the Venetian possessions in the east; and foot by foot they pushed across Transylvania and Hungary toward Germany. Finally, in their great need, the Pope, Venice, and

Spain formed an alliance (1571), and in the same year their united fleet¹ won a brilliant victory over the 'Turks, off Lepanto, in Greece. The commander-in-chief of the Christians was the young and talented Don John of Austria, a half-brother of Philip II. His genius and Philip's own energy in raising supplies contributed the largest share to the triumph. Hardly more than thirty Turkish vessels escaped the ruin ; 30,000 Turks were killed, 12,000 Christian rowers freed from slavery. The victory brought neither Spain nor Christendom any great immediate benefits, but the Mohammedan sea-power was checked, and though still threatening for more than a hundred years to come, fell from this time into a gradual decline. Lepanto is one of the proud moments of the history of Philip and of Spain.

Philip's wars
with the
Turks.
Lepanto.

But a greater triumph than Lepanto even was Philip's acquisition of Portugal. Still, it cannot be said that this success was due to any special cleverness of his own. Portugal was the only state of the peninsula of the Pyrenees which Spain had not yet absorbed. Frequent marriages between the royal Houses had, however, prepared a union of the two states. In 1580 the last native king of Portugal died, and Philip, who had a fair claim, thereupon took possession of the state and of her colonies. The Portuguese, proud of their nationality and their achievements during the Age of Discoveries, accepted the yoke of the greater state unwillingly. The memories of Portuguese independence would not perish, and after Spain had entered upon its decline, and only forty years after Philip's death, Portugal rose and won back her freedom, under a new royal House, the House of Braganza (1640). Since then Portugal and Spain have never been united.

Philip
acquires
Portugal.

¹ The battle of Lepanto brought an immense mass of ships into action. The Turks and Christians had about the same number of galleys, more than two hundred each. But the Turks had in addition many lighter vessels. On the other hand, the Christian ships were better manned.

Philip's internal rule.

If Philip's career as champion of Catholicism was, on the whole, an unsuccessful one, his internal rule was hardly more fortunate. There had already been a perceptible decay of agriculture and commerce under Charles. Under Philip the decline continued. The farms lay deserted; the roads were neglected and soon untravelled. Then by the extermination of the Moors or Moriscoes, ordered under Philip, the country lost its most industrious element; the terrible Inquisition, employed against these people, turned Granada and the south, which, under Mohammedan rule, had bloomed like a valley of Paradise, into a cemetery. The Jews, on being persecuted because of their faith, carried elsewhere their capital and energy. Finally, the heavy yoke of absolutism crushed all independence of thought and action. Thus the Spanish monarch himself, by depriving the people of the exercise of their political intelligence, by crushing their initiative in business enterprise, and by persecuting the industrious foreigners, the Moriscoes and Jews, condemned his own country to death by dry-rot.

Reasons of the Spanish decay.

/// Inquisition and absolutism—these are the names of the chief diseases which racked the body of the Spanish nation. As they are associated with the central power, it is natural to ascribe the decline of Spain solely to her bigoted, unwise kings. It is true her kings are guilty, but let us remember that no people dies by its kings alone; a people dies or lives by its own strength or weakness. Judged by this truth, the Spanish character is largely responsible for the dissolution of the Spanish power. To their native intolerance, which cut the Spaniards off from all new ideas, was added a lordly pride and a southern indolence, which rendered them disdainful and incapable of steady, saving work. //

Philip III. and Philip IV.

Philip III. (1598–1621), who succeeded Philip II., was an utterly incapable man. In 1609 he was forced to bend his pride in a way in which his father had refused to do,

and conclude with the rebel Dutch a twelve years' truce. It was a public acknowledgment of Spain's decline. Under Philip IV. (1621-65) the country dropped definitely to the second and third rank among European powers in consequence of the disgraceful treaties of Westphalia (1648)¹ and of the Pyrenees (1659)² which closed her long wars with the Netherlands and with France. In 1659 the political, social, and material decline of Spain was patent to every observer.

It is an unsolved problem why, during the decline of Spain under the Philips, there should have been a literary and artistic activity, such as few countries have ever enjoyed. Spain created a great national literature (Cervantes, d. 1616, the author of "Don Quixote;" Lope de Vega, d. 1635, and Calderon, d. 1681, dramatic authors) and a great national art (Velasquez, d. 1660, and Murillo, d. 1682).

Spanish culture.

¹See Chapter VII.

²See Period II., Chapter II.

(The English Humanists, Chap. II.)

CHAPTER IV

ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS (1485-1603); FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE REFORMATION UNDER ELIZABETH (1559-1603) *

Henry VIII., 1509-1547.

The character of Henry VIII.

HENRY VII., the first Tudor monarch and creator of the "strong monarchy," died in 1509, and was succeeded by his son Henry VIII. Henry VIII. was under twenty years of age at his accession. He was a young man of attractive presence, skilled in gentlemanly sports, such as riding and tennis, condescending with all people, free-handed and fond of pageantry, and altogether the idol of his nation, which received him with acclamations of joy. And not least exultant over his coming to power were the English humanists. For Henry had been brought into the circle of the new learning by his tutors, and was reputed to be favorably inclined toward it.

The English humanists.

The chief English humanists have already been mentioned. They were John Colet, Sir Thomas More, and finally Erasmus, who, because he lived a long time in England, may be associated with his English friends, although he was born at Rotterdam and found the chief field of his activity on the Continent. These men, with a number of others of the same free disposition, spread over England, by written and spoken word, the fervently accepted gospel, partly original with them and partly borrowed from Italy, of the new classical learning. It in-

* Fisher, ch. X.

Häusser, chs. XIII., XL., & XLII.

Macaulay, Hist. of Eng., Vol. I., ch. I.

Ransome, "The English Humanists," ch. I.

Moberly, The Early Tudors.

Breighton, The Age of Elizabeth.

See below, Post. con.

cluded the communication of the spiritual philosophy of Plato and the plan of a reformed and simple Christian life, based on the teachings of the New Testament. Because the University of Oxford became a seat of humanistic influence, the humanists are known generally in England as the Oxford reformers.

The Oxford reformers, like Hutten and Reuchlin in Germany, performed the important service in England of clearing the way for the Reformation. The mediæval darkness was, perhaps, thicker here than elsewhere, and therefore much greater efforts were required to clear the scholastic rubbish out of the schools, to direct theology away from profitless doctrinal discussions to the living sources of life flowing in the Bible, and to render men's minds capable of enjoying the beauties of the ancient literatures. Colet's attention was especially given to the creation of a new boys' school. With his own fortune he founded the school of St. Paul's, where affectionate interest displaced the old magisterial brutality, and Greek and Latin literature, taught in a fresh way, crowded out the petrified studies of the schoolmen. St. Paul's school became the model for many new schools created in the following years.

The aspiration of the humanists.

Sir Thomas More was a member of Parliament, and under Henry VIII. held several important positions in the government. Dear as he held the reform of life and religion, he was no less desirous of bringing about a reform of the state. In his famous book, "Utopia" (the Kingdom of Nowhere, 1516), he exhibits his view of a well-ordered society. It is not a serious charge against the work that it is impractical, since it does not pretend to anything more than the presentation of an ideal toward which government and society ought to advance. Justice, reason, intelligence, freedom, and equality are the pillars of More's visionary kingdom, and by exhibiting the delightfulness of

Sir Thomas More's "Utopia."

a life established upon such a basis, he brought sharply to the mind of his contemporaries the shortcomings of the kingdoms of which they formed a part. The Utopia is a comprehensive, socialistic programme, dictated by a generous love and pity of the poor and heavy-laden, and it is encouraging to observe that many of its demands¹ have been realized by the progress of centuries. Other and more fantastic demands form the substance of the platform of the socialists of to-day.

Breach between Henry and the humanists.

The joy of the Oxford humanists over the accession of Henry was not destined to last long. Henry, indeed, distinguished the propagandists of the new learning by various honorary appointments; but he soon showed that he did not take their principles of reform of Church and state seriously, and was clearly determined upon following the egotistical bent of his mind. Under the smooth exterior of the king there appeared, to the general surprise, a stubborn and brutal personality, which, as the years passed, fell more and more under the dominion of its passions.

Henry's first war with France.

A very few years after Henry's accession, the humanists knew beyond doubt that they had been mistaken in their man. In 1512, Henry definitely abandoned the policy of peace, which had made his father strong and had filled the treasury, and without any real cause, for mere notoriety's sake, plunged into the Spanish-French difficulties, which had broken out over the possession of Italy. He joined Spain and the Pope in the Holy League (1512) which was directed against France, and while Louis XII. of France was engaged in Italy, Henry invaded his rival's territory

¹In Utopia education was general; there were wise sanitary provisions and clean, broad streets; criminals were treated with kindness and won back to order by affectionate instruction; religious tolerance was established as a state maxim. More than this, there was in force a state of things which tallies largely with the expectations of our modern socialists. Something like their eight-hour labor law, for instance, was realized in Utopia.

from Calais, then still an English possession. The only result of these campaigns across the channel was a cheap victory, known as the Battle of the Spurs (1513).

A more decisive advantage was gained in another direction. When the king of France found himself threatened by Henry, he revived the alliance with James IV., the king of Scotland, and while Henry was campaigning futilely in France, James crossed the Scottish border and pushed south. It was a moment of extreme danger for the English. But Catharine of Aragon, Henry's queen, who acted as regent in his absence, displayed an unusual activity, and at Flodden Field the army she had summoned signally defeated the Scots (1513). King James and the flower of his nobility remained dead upon the field.¹ It was the last time the Scots seriously threatened the prestige of England.

Flodden Field,
1513.

The favorite adviser of Henry at this period of his life was Thomas Wolsey (1471-1530). Wolsey was a mere burgher's son, but having joined the clergy rose rapidly by virtue of his talents from post to post, until the king's favor won for him the archbishopric of York, and at the same time raised him to the position of Lord Chancellor, the highest post in the civil administration of the realm (1515). Thus Wolsey became the king's second self. Unfortunately he was over-fond of power and its outward symbols, such as gorgeous palaces, trains of servants, and sumptuous feasts, and altogether his ambition and vanity outran his patriotism and intelligence. That such a king's adviser would not be a wholly reliable guide events proved.

Wolsey, arch-
bishop and
Lord Chan-
cellor.

When with the year 1517, Europe became agitated by the question of the Reformation, it devolved on Henry to adopt some definite attitude toward Luther's heresy. Henry

Henry defends
the Pope
against
Luther.

¹The reader will perhaps remember that Scott's poem of *Marmion* deals with this battle.

was not untutored in theology. In fact, he prided himself upon being a master of all its intricacies, and his vanity prevented him from keeping his light concealed under a bushel. When Luther went so far as to attack the sacraments and the authority of the Pope, Henry published a vehement pamphlet against him (1521), whereupon the Pope, gratified at finding a champion among the royalty, conferred upon Henry the title of Defender of the Faith.¹ But Henry had an ulterior object in defending the sovereignty of the Pope, more urgent than his love of the Head of the Church, more urgent even than his vanity. His attachment to the Pope was largely due to the peculiar circumstances of his marriage.

Henry's
marriage.

Henry's marriage deserves close consideration. The reader will remember that Henry VII., in pursuance of his peace policy, had sought to associate himself with Spain. He calculated that England was threatened by France alone, and that Spain and England in alliance would render France harmless. Spain did not fail to see her own advantage in this policy of Henry, and finally Ferdinand of Spain and Henry VII. of England agreed to cement their interests by a matrimonial alliance. Accordingly the boy-prince of Wales, Arthur, was married to Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. But shortly after the ceremony Arthur died, and as the desire for the alliance continued as before, the idea naturally occurred to the families concerned to marry Arthur's widow to Arthur's surviving brother, Henry. However, an obstacle to this project was offered by a Church law, which forbade a man to marry his deceased brother's wife. In this dilemma, the then Pope, Julius II., granted a special dispensa-

¹ The sovereigns of England still bear this title despite subsequent events. It is an amusing stroke of historical irony, that only a few years after a Pope had conferred this title, another Pope should have laid his anathema upon Henry, as the destroyer of the faith.

tion, whereby the Church law was annulled for Catharine's and Henry's benefit. The way being thus cleared, the marriage actually took place immediately upon Henry's accession (1509). It will be easily understood that in the eyes of contemporaries the legality of Henry's marriage rested solely upon the Pope's special warrant. Now, if the Pope, as Luther affirmed, was an impostor and had no right to issue such a warrant, the law still held and the marriage was accordingly illegal. As at the time of Luther's first attacks upon the papal sovereignty Henry still loved his wife and wished to secure the succession to his children by her—although he had as yet but a single daughter, Mary—he was naturally alarmed when Luther ridiculed the claims of the man upon whose assumed power the legality of his marriage and of his daughter's right to the throne depended.

Only a few years after Henry had thus ridden into the lists, in behalf of the Papacy, there occurred an alteration in Henry's feelings which completely changed his attitude toward his marriage and toward the papal dispensation. Henry no longer loved his wife; in her place he loved her young and charming maid of honor, Anne Boleyn; he had given up hope of having any more children by Catharine, and as he longed for a son who was likely to render the succession more secure than his sickly daughter Mary could render it, he desired a new marriage; and, finally, having fallen out with the Emperor Charles V. politically, he wished to break all the bonds—and therefore also the marriage bond—which united him with the Spanish family.

These reasons urged Henry to a divorce. A divorce in the Catholic Church is a matter of the greatest difficulty. But Henry's case seemed simple. The present Pope, Clement VII., would only have to withdraw Pope Julius's marriage dispensation, which Henry in his change

Henry desires
a divorce.

The Pope re-
fuses a di-
vorce.

of mind assumed to have been obtained by fraud, and everything would be satisfactory. The general regulations concerning a marriage between a brother-in-law and a sister-in-law would immediately enter into force, and the royal marriage would, by that simple act, be rendered void. But supposing the Pope could not be brought to take Henry's point of view, would not Henry, who, by hook or by crook, wanted the divorce, and insisted on the fundamental illegality of his marriage, be pushed to take another stand; would he not be urged to take back his own former invectives against Luther, and, together with the German heretic, insist that the Pope was a usurper and could not make that which the Bible¹ called wrong, right by his word? Would not Henry, if balked in his plan of an amicable settlement of the divorce matter, be driven to adopt the alternative of violence? And thus it came to pass. It will be remembered that in 1527 the troops of Charles V. sacked Rome. From this time on Pope Clement was delivered into the hands of Spain. Charles V. had only to forbid the grant of the divorce between Henry and Catharine of Aragon, his aunt, and the Pope would have to obey. In the dilemma in which he found himself there was only one thing which Clement could do, and that was to put Henry off and let the matter drag on. Henry allowed himself to be hoodwinked for a time, but in the end his patience gave out and he abruptly took matters into his own hands.

The fall of
Wolsey.

Events now follow each other with confusing rapidity. The first is the fall of Wolsey. Wolsey had engaged his credit to obtain the divorce. When he failed, the king disgraced him. What had angered the king especially was the

¹ A text in Leviticus xviii. 16 seems to forbid marriage with a deceased brother's wife. The canonical prohibition drew its authority from the current reading of this text.

fact that Wolsey, after having accepted the office of Papal legate, had, together with a legate of Italian birth, Campeggio, carried on in England a busy investigation of the divorce question, and then allowed the whole matter to end in nothing. An opportune death (1530) alone saved Wolsey from imprisonment in the Tower.¹

The king's mind was in turmoil and confusion till there arrived a man to steady and direct his will. This was Thomas Cromwell, a former secretary of Wolsey's and a man of rude energy. He showed the king that the easiest way out of his difficulties was to follow the example of the princes of Germany, repudiate the Pope, make himself head of the National Church, and so have his divorce referred to an ecclesiastical court dependent on himself. Cromwell undertook the direction of affairs. At a Convocation of the English clergy the payment to the Pope of the *Annates*² was abolished (1532). That was tantamount to a declaration of war. Next Cranmer, a creature of Henry's and already half a Protestant, was appointed archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England (1533). Cranmer, at Henry's order, straightway pronounced the divorce, and shortly after, Anne Boleyn was publicly proclaimed queen. Finally, in 1534, there was passed by Parliament the Act of Supremacy, which declared the king the Supreme Head of the Church of England. The schism was now complete. The papal excommunication which fell upon Henry's head was harmless thunder.

Cromwell and
the breach
with Rome.

Thus Henry, head of the state, became also head of the Church, or briefly, the English Pope. And never did a Pope at Rome try to carry out his will more high-handedly.

¹ Shakespeare (Henry VIII.) gives Wolsey's last authentic words almost literally: "Had I but served my God with half the zeal I served my king, He would not in mine age have left me naked to mine enemies."

² The Annates were the first year's income of an ecclesiastical benefice, and the Annates of the bishoprics formed an important part of the Pope's revenue.

Death of Fisher and More.

The enactments of the last year were immediately made a test of loyalty. Whoever pronounced an opinion against them was liable to a traitor's death. Bishop Fisher and Thomas More, the latter once Henry's friend and chancellor, and both friends of learning and righteous men, were among the first victims of the new policy. They paid for their unwillingness to recognize Henry as the Supreme Head of the Church with their lives (1535).

The character of Henry's Protestantism.

From the first, it was an interesting question how far Henry would depart from the accepted Catholic organization, doctrines, and practices, and how far he would adopt the Protestant position. In his own heart he was as much a Catholic before as after the schism. The sole distinction between Henry then and Henry now was, that he had taken, as regards England, the Pope's place. But to a certain extent he could not fail to be influenced by the Protestant Reformation, especially as long as his most trusted counsellor was Cromwell, who was secretly a Lutheran. A number of innovations were therefore gradually admitted. The English Bible was put into every church. The doctrines concerning Purgatory, Indulgences, and Masses for the Dead were condemned. Pilgrimages were forbidden, miraculous images were destroyed. But the most incisive innovation, was the adoption, by the advice of Cromwell, of the suppression of the monasteries (1536).

The suppression of the monasteries, 1536.

About 1,200 monasteries existed at this time in England. Their wealth was great, especially in land. Without any doubt the king's greed, seconded by that of his nobles, urged him to accept toward them Cromwell's policy of suppression. But their suppression under any condition may fairly be called a blessing. They certainly did not do good in proportion to their cost, and their very principle was opposed to the modern spirit, which demands that every man make himself of some practical use in the

world. Nevertheless the recognition of this fact should not hinder us from condemning the exaggerated stories of the bestiality and iniquity of the monks and nuns, which Cromwell's agents embodied for their own political ends in their report to Parliament, called the Black Book. The monasteries, first the smaller, then the larger, were suppressed. Their immense wealth became the property of the king, who although he used it in part for the establishment of the new Church and in part for schools, lavishly distributed the largest share among the gentry in order to attach them to his party.¹ In recognition of these benefits the landed gentry became the sovereign's surest support in carrying out his ecclesiastical policy.

Though the mass of the English people were hostile to the claims of the Pope and gladly accepted the Act of Supremacy, they were, like Henry himself, Catholic in feeling and disapproved of Cromwell's Protestant innovations. Revolts breaking out, here and there, especially a revolt in the north, called the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), made the king aware that he had gone as far as was wise. From policy, as well as from conviction, he refused to make further concessions. Terrified by the confusion of opinion about him, he even fell victim to a partial reaction. In 1539 he ordered Parliament to pass "an act for the abolition of the diversity of opinions," which is known as the Six Articles, or vulgarly as the Whip with Six Cords. The Six Articles were intended as a confession of faith of the new Henrian Church. Their spirit was Catholic; they upheld, for instance, celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, and transubstantiation; all diversity of opinion was punishable with death. Under the reign of the Six

The king establishes a half-way Church.

¹The present nobility of England is, in part, the creation of Henry VIII. The seat of many a noble house is an ancient abbey. Lord Byron's seat, for instance, was Newstead Abbey.

Articles a persecution broke out, which struck Catholics and Protestants alike. The citizens who wished to live in peace, had to travel docilely the path, half way between Catholicism and Protestantism, which the king was pleased to designate as orthodox. One of the first victims of this partial reaction was Thomas Cromwell. That he had helped the king to his position of ecclesiastical supremacy could not save him. In 1540, he was arrested and executed.

His unprofitable foreign policy.

Henry's foreign policy was throughout his reign confusing and uninteresting. The important political matter of the time was the rivalry between France and Spain, the respective sovereigns of which were Francis I. and Charles V. Henry's alliance was solicited by both monarchs, and as his interests were not directly involved, Henry was satisfied to follow the man who offered the greater bribe. Therefore he was sometimes on Charles's side, sometimes on that of Francis, campaigned much and spent much money; but in the end he gained nothing.

His six marriages.

A personal page in Henry's history demands at least passing recognition. It presents the story of his marriages. His native vulgarity and repulsive animalism exhibit themselves here without relief. We have already followed the tragedy of Catharine of Aragon to the coronation of Anne Boleyn. Anne Boleyn gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, and soon afterward was executed (1536). The next wife was Jane Seymour, who died a natural death, leaving a son Edward. The fourth wife, Anne of Cleves, did not suit Henry at all, and was hardly married when she was divorced (1540). As the fifth wife, Catharine Howard, proved untrue, she was beheaded (1542), and so room was made for a sixth, Catharine Parr, who, although occasionally in imminent danger, managed, by submission, to outlive the royal bluebeard.

Henry died in 1547. By the law of succession which he established, the crown was to pass first to his son Edward and Edward's heirs, then to his daughter Mary¹ and her heirs, and finally to his daughter Elizabeth and her heirs. This law was just, and satisfied the Parliament and the people.

The law of succession.

Henry's character is sufficiently illuminated by the events which have been narrated in the foregoing pages. He was a man of brute energy, who recognized only the law of his own pleasure. His father had made the monarchy practically absolute, and so the Parliament, instead of proving a barrier to his arbitrariness, was a servile instrument in his hands, which docilely recorded his will. English religious independence, the crowning work of his reign, is, therefore, Henry's personal act; not the Parliament's, nor the people's. Nevertheless, if, in the course of history, the Anglican Church, which has developed from Henry's Act of Supremacy, has proved a benefit, the English people owe small thanks to Henry. Rather than to Henry, they owe the Anglican Church, in the form in which they know it, to Elizabeth and to the band of devoted reformers who, under her general direction, gave it its moral earnestness and its high purpose.

Henry's merit as an Anglican reformer.

Edward VI., 1547-53.

As Edward VI. was but nine years old when his father lay at the point of death, Henry provided, during his son's minority, a council of regency, at the head of which he put Edward's maternal uncle, the duke of Somerset. Somerset, however, disregarding Henry's will, abolished the council and made himself sole regent, with the title of

Somerset becomes Protector.

¹ The ingenuous reader will feel surprise at Henry's recognition of Mary as his legitimate child. It is a piece of frank inconsistency and severely impugns Henry's sincerity in the matter of the divorce.

Protector. To this act the Parliament, accustomed to obedience, offered no objections.

The Protestantism of Edward's reign.

The obedience of Parliament soon stood a much harder test. For Somerset, supported by Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, resolved to carry out a thorough Protestant reform. These two men abruptly determined that the Henrian Church, which was neither Protestant nor Catholic, should be remodelled after the faith of Calvin. Anglican historians are accustomed to speak of this period as "the Protestant misrule." Pictures and altars were swept out of the churches, the rich vestments and the sacred processions were abandoned; in a word, the Church was robbed of its elaborate Catholic character, and was made plain and Protestant. Moreover, the tendency of continental Protestantism toward the national idiom was followed, and the dead Latin of the service was replaced by the living English. In pursuance of this last laudable enactment, and to make possible the conduct of an English service, Cranmer issued, in 1548, the English Book of Common Prayer. Further, since the clergy was no longer to form a separate class outside of the nation, an order was published by which the principle of celibacy was abandoned.

Permanent contributions of Edward's reign to the English Church.

The inner change from Catholic to Protestant doctrine was no less complete than the above outward changes. In 1552, there was published and enforced throughout the kingdom, a new Confession of Faith, which is known as the Forty-two Articles of Religion, and which is saturated, through and through, with the Calvinistic spirit. These Forty-two Articles, reduced under Elizabeth to Thirty-nine, and somewhat tempered in tone, were saved, together with the Book of Common Prayer, from the wreck of Edward's time, and became and have remained the two main pillars of the English Church.*

* See p. 88

The Protestant government of Edward was no less intolerant than the government of his father. Tolerance was as yet abhorred by all parties in England and on the Continent as a weakness. Therefore, all who departed from the forms prescribed in the Prayer Book were persecuted, and a number of victims were even burned at the stake.

Religious persecution.

The Protector Somerset, however, did not live to complete the establishment of the Protestant Church. Discontent was rife everywhere at his inconsiderate manner and his revolutionary programme, and in 1549 he fell a victim to a plot of the nobles, and was beheaded. Although he was succeeded in power by his political opponent, the duke of Northumberland, the new regent substantially adopted Somerset's radically Protestant policy.

Northumberland assumes the regency.

Even had Northumberland been willing to make concessions to the Catholic party, he would have been hindered by the will of the young king. Edward VI. was, as is frequently the case with invalid children, a boy of remarkable precocity. His uncle Somerset had given him a severe Protestant training, and he pored over the Scriptures with the fervor of a Calvinistic preacher. When he was twelve years old, the German reformer, Bucer, wrote of him: "No study enjoys his favor as much as the Bible." His favorite diversion was a theological discussion, and out of his journal, which has come down to us, there looms a countenance bare of every boyish grace, and a mind which anticipates the Puritan of a generation yet unborn.

The precocity of Edward.

Such a boy was only too likely to exhaust in a very few years his low measure of vitality. Early in 1553, Northumberland perceived that Edward was dying. By law, the succession would now fall to Mary, who, like her Spanish mother, Catharine, was a devoted Catholic. Northumber-

Edward changes the law of succession.

land and his friends had everything to fear from her, and in order to secure himself and them, he played upon the young king's Protestant conscience with such skill that he wrung from him at last a new law of succession. By this Edward excluded his sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, from the throne, and bestowed the crown upon a great-granddaughter of Henry VII., the Lady Jane Grey.¹ The calculating Northumberland, however, had previously married Lady Jane Grey to one of his own sons, Guilford Dudley. Thus he hoped to perpetuate his power. Soon after signing the new law of succession, Edward died, July, 1553.

Mary, 1553-58.

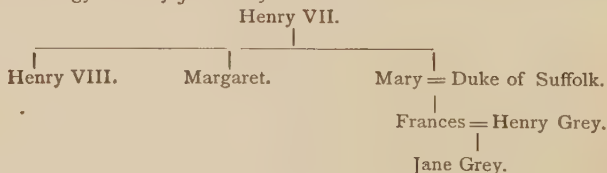
Mary hailed as
sovereign.

Edward had hardly expired when Northumberland proclaimed Lady Jane Grey. But if he had any hope of carrying his candidate he was soon disillusioned. The mass of the people saw through his despicable intrigue and rallied around Mary, their legitimate sovereign. They hailed Mary gladly, because not only their sense of justice, but also their dearest hopes, designated her as their queen. For the majority of the people were still Catholic, and the radical Protestantism of Edward and Northumberland had aroused their animosity. From Mary they expected the return of the Mass and of the ancient Catholic practices from which they were not yet weaned in their hearts.

The Lady
Jane Grey.

The Lady Jane Grey was, in consequence of this unhesitating devotion of the English people to their rightful

¹ Genealogy of Lady Jane Grey.



sovereign, crowned only to be deposed again. Northumberland justly paid for his ambition with his head. Unfortunately, Lady Jane Grey, who was utterly innocent of the plot to depose Queen Mary, and who had accepted the crown from her father-in-law almost against her will, paid the same penalty. The gentle and refined young girl, the nine days' queen, has always excited a pathetic interest. The great public stage on which she died was not her choice; a quiet country seat, where her bright nature might have shone among a circle of friends and scholars, would have suited her better. Therefore she called the day on which she gave back her crown to the commissioners who arrested her the happiest day of her life.

It is certain that if Mary had adopted a moderate Catholic policy and taken her stand upon the platform of her father, Henry, her reign would have met the wishes of her people. But Mary had nothing about her suggesting compromise. Her Spanish blood called upon her to be faithful, above all things, to her faith. She, therefore, planned nothing less than a return of England to the Pope's fold—a full Catholic restoration. And that was a delusion. For, however the English people were attached to Catholic practices, the Act of Supremacy, proclaiming the English independence of Rome, had the full consent of the nation.

Mary plans a full Catholic restoration.

The very first acts of Mary's reign left no doubt about her policy. The Parliament, always obedient to a word from the throne, straightway abolished all the acts which had been voted under Edward, reëstablished the old faith, and forbade the new. When the married clergymen had been expelled and the old liturgy been reintroduced, the last measure necessary for the undoing of the work of the past years could be undertaken. In November, 1554, there arrived in London Cardinal Pole, the legate of the Pope,

The Act of Supremacy abolished.

1554

and the Parliament having abolished the Act of Supremacy of 1534, the English nation was solemnly received back by Pole into the bosom of Mother Church. The honest Catholic zeal of Mary labored even for a restoration of the dissolved monasteries, but here the Parliament, which was made up largely of landholders who had benefited by the secularization, showed itself intractable.

Mary marries
Philip.

If the ultra-Catholic policy of Mary alienated popular sympathies, she actually undermined her own throne when she so far disregarded the national prejudices of her people as to seek the alliance of Catholic Spain by offering her hand to Philip, son and heir of Charles V. The marriage with Philip was celebrated in 1554, and brought with it, as was expected from the Spanish husband's well-known intolerance, a sharper pursuance of Catholic aims.

The Protest-
ant martyrs.

In fact, the religious persecutions which gave the finishing stroke to Mary's dying popularity and won for her from a Protestant posterity the terrible title of "Bloody Mary," may be dated from the time of her marriage with Philip. Soon the prisons were filled with those who had stood in the foreground in Edward's time, and gradually the fires of persecution were lighted over the realm. It is the period of the Protestant martyrs. Sixty-five died by the fagot in the year 1555, seventy in 1556. Their stanchness in death did more toward establishing Protestantism in England than the doctrinal fervor of an army of Calvinistic preachers could have done. It was even as Bishop Latimer said to Bishop Ridley at the stake: "Master Ridley, play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England, as I trust shall never be put out." For the stout part they played, Latimer and Ridley head the Protestant martyrology. But the persecution struck a more prominent, if not a more noble victim than these, in the person of the deposed archbishop of

Canterbury. This was the celebrated Cranmer, who had served under two kings. Cranmer, who had always shown a subservient spirit, flinched when the trial came and denied his faith. But in the face of death his courage came back to him. He thrust his right hand into the flame, and steadying it there, said, resolutely: "This is the hand that wrote the recantation, therefore it first shall suffer punishment."

If Edward's radical Protestantism made his reign detested, Mary's radical Catholicism produced the same result. The hatred of her subjects soon pursued her even into her palace. She was a quiet, tender woman whose intolerance was more the crime of the age than her own, and the harvest of aversion which was springing up about her was more than she could bear. Besides, her marriage was unfortunate. She loved Philip, but Philip cared nothing for her, and did not even trouble to hide his indifference to the sickly and ill-favored woman, twelve years older than himself. To crown her misfortunes, she allowed her Spanish husband to draw her into a war with France, in which Philip won all the honor and Mary suffered all the disgrace, by the loss of the last point which remained to England from her former possessions in France, Calais (1558). Doubtless the loss of Calais was for England a benefit in disguise; she was thereby cut off from the Continent and directed to her true sphere, the sea. But to the living generation of Englishmen the capture seemed an insufferable dishonor. No one felt it more keenly than Mary. "When I die," she is reported to have said shortly before her death (November, 1558), "Calais will be found written on my heart."

The loss of
Calais.



Elizabeth, 1558-1603.

The glorious
reign of
Queen Eliza-
beth.

Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter and Mary's younger half-sister, succeeded to the throne on Mary's death. Elizabeth's reign proved to be the most glorious of any which England has ever had. Under her, Protestantism was firmly established in England; the great Catholic sea-power, Spain, was challenged and defeated; and English life flowered in the poetry of Shakespeare and his contemporaries more exuberantly and more exquisitely than ever before or since. To the national greatness, to which England suddenly raised herself in the sixteenth century, Elizabeth has lent her name. She appeared to the English people, and still appears, mirrored in a great time; and their generous loyalty, which gave her in her life-time the title of Good Queen Bess, has also encouraged them in the view that she was the fountain and the summary of all the virtues which thrived in her day. Modern historians have scattered this delusion. They have separated the woman from her time, and it is a very different Elizabeth who appears to the eye, now that the curtain of the myths which concealed her from view has been withdrawn.

Elizabeth as a
woman.

Elizabeth had few or none of the graces of womanhood and many or all of its weaknesses. Her vanity was excessive. Although a very plain-featured woman, she looked upon herself as a beauty of a particularly rare type. Gowns and jewelry were her passion. She could not live without flattery and flirtations, and fatuously accepting the compliments of the courtiers for true coin, allowed herself to be persuaded to dance and sing in her maladroit manner, before a brilliant court of gentlemen and ladies, who could hardly hide their amusement behind their handkerchiefs. Her manners were rude, especially at the council board, and her ministers were frequently annihilated by language

which would have done honor to the camp and the fish-market.

If Elizabeth was without the virtues which are specifically feminine, she certainly possessed what are generally known as masculine talents. She had the sense of her selfish interest, an inflexible will, and an exceptional intelligence. Thus her hand firmly grasped the rudder, and the English bark travelled under her guidance straight for the goal.

Elizabeth as a statesman.

But the quality by which she rendered England perhaps her best service, her own age, if her contemporaries had been more clearly informed about it, would have been quick to call a sin. Elizabeth was lukewarm about matters of faith, a sort of pagan. However such want of conviction be regarded in the case of a private individual, in the England of that day, shaken by religious passions, the sovereign's indifference was an undisguised blessing to the commonwealth. By reason of it, Elizabeth was delivered from the destructive religious radicalism of both Edward and Mary, and being relatively disinterested, was peculiarly fitted to play her royal part of mediator between antagonistic faiths. In connection with Elizabeth's semi-paganism, it is necessary to remember that the sixteenth century was the century not only of the Reformation, but also of the Renaissance. Elizabeth had been brought up to read Latin and Greek, and was not unacquainted with the languages and the literatures of the continent. Like the poets and dramatists of her time, she gave heed more to the voices coming from Italy than to the message of Luther and Calvin.

Elizabeth's religion.

The chief organ of Elizabeth's government was the Privy Council, a sort of cabinet, the advice of which Elizabeth regularly heard before she arrived at a decision. In this body was gathered the best political talent which the country afforded. It is no small credit to Elizabeth to

The Privy Council.

have exhibited such discernment in the choice of her ministers. Most prominent among them was William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who devoted a life of exemplary unselfishness to the advancement of English Protestantism and of the English sea-power.

The position
of Parliament.

If Elizabeth was willing to consult in her affairs the Privy Council, which was a body of her own appointment, she was not inclined to grant any political influence to Parliament, which was elected by the people. Parliament remained, therefore, what it had been under the other Tudors, an obedient recorder of the royal will. Thus the sovereignty of England was practically concentrated in Elizabeth's hands.

Elizabeth re-
turns to the
religious pol-
icy of her
father.

The first question of Elizabeth's reign was the question of the Reformation. Edward had followed a policy of radical Protestantism and had failed; Mary had followed a policy of radical Catholicism and had failed; after these two experiments it was plain that extremes would have to be abandoned. Elizabeth, therefore, returned deliberately to the moderate policy of her father.

The Acts of
Supremacy
and Uniform-
ity.

In 1559 Parliament laid the foundations of the Anglican Church, as they stand to this day, by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. By the Act of Supremacy the independence of England from Rome was again^{*} proclaimed and Elizabeth declared the highest spiritual authority, as she was the highest civil authority in the realm; and by the Act of Uniformity, the clergy were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to depart from the beliefs and service which are laid down in the Forty-two Articles^{*} (soon reduced to Thirty-nine) and the Book of Common Prayer of Edward's time. The Anglican Church thus established (also called the Episcopal Church, because of its government by bishops) may be described as a Protestant Church with a Catholic hierarchy.

**The first act of Supremacy
was passed in 1534 (Reign of Henry
VIII.). See p. 75. / *see p. 80.*

Elizabeth's policy of a moderate Protestantism conformed to the wishes of the majority of the English people. In consequence the feeling of uncertainty, occasioned by the rapid changes of the previous reigns, was soon replaced by a merited confidence. Slowly Protestantism won its way into the hearts of the English people and crowded out the mediæval faith. But for a long time the Catholic party was still a considerable factor in English life. Elizabeth could never afford to leave it out of her calculations. However, she was not, strictly speaking, a persecutor. Freedom of worship she would not suffer. The Catholics had to bow to the Act of Uniformity, and worship in the national Church; but if they did not engage in political conspiracies, they were in general not molested.¹

The English Catholics.

In the proportion in which the Catholics decreased in number and importance, another party, as ill-disposed in its own way to the Anglican Church as the Catholics were in theirs, increased. This was the party of the Protestant radicals, who were not satisfied with Elizabeth's half-measures, and clamored for a thorough-going Protestant organization. The Non-conformists, as these Protestants were called, soon split into two parties, Puritans and Separatists. The Puritans were moderate opponents, who did not sever their connection with the Anglican Church, because they hoped to win it over to their programme. Their name was originally a nick-name, given them by their Anglican adversaries in consequence of their demand for what they called a purer worship. This purer worship aimed at stripping the Anglican Church of many of the Catholic practices which had been retained, such as genuflections, wearing the surplice, and decorating the altar.

Puritans
and
Separatists.

¹ The number of Catholics executed under Elizabeth reached the considerable figure of one hundred and eighty-seven. But, as stated above, they were executed mostly for political reasons.

The Separatists (also called Brownists after their founder, Robert Brown) were radicals, who knew no compromise. The Established Church was to them no better than the Roman Church, and they refused to attend it. On being persecuted under the Act of Uniformity, many took refuge on the Continent, and it was from among these fugitive Protestants that came, in a later reign, the pioneers of the new world, the Pilgrim Fathers.

The coming struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne it was not known what religious policy she would pursue. Philip of Spain was, therefore, very friendly to her, and even offered her his hand in marriage. But as her Protestant policy developed, a natural coolness followed between England, on the one hand, and Spain, supported by Catholic Europe, on the other. This coolness assumed a definite form of enmity when the Pope issued, in 1570, a bull of excommunication against the queen. England, more and more, almost unconsciously assumed the leadership of the Protestant world, and since the Catholic reaction was growing more ambitious every day, it was plain that a great world-struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism, conducted chiefly by their respective champions, England and Spain, could not be long put off.

The affairs of Scotland.

Every event in Elizabeth's reign contributed to precipitate the struggle; notably the queen's relations with Scotland and Scotland's sovereign, Mary Stuart. Scotland had been England's foe for centuries, and the bitterness between the two kingdoms was probably never fiercer than at this time. Henry VII. had wisely attempted to establish a greater harmony between the royal houses by marrying his daughter Margaret to James IV. But war was not thereby averted. James IV. and James V. both sympathized with France and both perished in the struggle against England, the latter (1542) when his only heir and

successor, Mary, was but a few weeks old. Mary Stuart's descent from Henry VII. and the prospective failure of Henry VIII.'s direct descendants, opened for the child the prospect of the English succession. On the death of Mary Tudor (1558), there was, with the exception of Elizabeth, no other descendant of Henry VII. alive, as prominent as she. To the Catholics, moreover, who saw in the daughter of Anne Boleyn merely an illegitimate child, she had even a better claim than Elizabeth. Out of this relation of the two women to the English throne, sprang their intense hatred of each other, and the long and bloody drama of their jealousy, ending in Mary's death upon the scaffold.

When Mary succeeded to the throne of Scotland, she was, as has been said, a child in arms. Her mother, another Mary, of the French family of Guise, assumed the regency, and in order to withdraw her child from possible English influences, sent her over to France, where she was soon betrothed to the heir of the throne, the dauphin.¹ Thus the interests of France and Scotland were newly knit, to the detriment of England.

Mary of Guise soon met with great difficulties in Scotland. Toward the middle of the century the voices of the Reformation began to be heard in the land. Conversions grew apace, and soon the struggle between the old and the new faiths was engaged here as everywhere. But nowhere was it so brief and nowhere was the victory of the new teachings so decisive. Scotland was still a backward, feudal land, where the chief power rested with a lawless nobility. The clergy, too, had considerable wealth and power, but their religious indifference and luxurious living had weaned from them the affections of the people. By the

Mary sent to France.

The Protestant movement in Scotland.

(For References, see p. 92.)

¹ The heir to the French throne received the title of dauphin in the Middle Age. The title is derived from the province of Dauphiny. In the same manner, the oldest son of the English king received the title of prince of Wales.

operation of this circumstance the hold of the Catholic Church on Scotland had become so slight that the fiery Calvinistic preachers, among whom John Knox* (1505-72) occupies the first place, had only to proclaim the new faith, to have it accepted by the people. When the nobility, lured by the prospect of the rich Church lands, threw in their lot with the preachers, the political success of the Reformation in Scotland was assured.

There was no hope for the regent Mary against the reformers but in the French alliance. French troops were accordingly sent to aid her against her rebellious and heretical subjects, and these were in possession of a number of important places and on the road to repressing the Protestant movement altogether, when Elizabeth ascended the throne. The wisdom of aiding the Scotch Protestants being obvious, Elizabeth immediately hurried men and ships to the north. These forces succeeded without difficulty in bringing the French to terms, and by the treaty of Edinburgh (1560) the latter agreed to abandon Scotland. As the regent died (1560) about the time that the French embarked for home, and as Queen Mary was still in France, the Protestant lords suddenly found themselves masters of the situation. In a Parliament composed of the friends of Knox, they established the new Church of Scotland, the Presbyterian Kirk (1560).

Establishment
of the Kirk of
Scotland,
1560.

It is not recorded with what feelings the absent queen heard of these occurrences. Her prospects at the time were so extraordinarily brilliant, that the doings of rude, nebulous Scotland probably affected her little. Her husband, Francis II., had lately become king of France, and ever since the death of Mary Tudor (1558) she and her husband had assumed the style of king and queen of England. But a quick succession of misfortunes greatly altered her circumstances. Francis II. died in the year 1560, and about the same time Elizabeth secured her hold upon England. Scot-

Mary Stuart
returns to
Scotland.

* *Julloch, Leaders of the Ref. -- Knox.*
McCrie { Lives of the Scottish
Reformers, -- Life of John Knox.
Knox { Hist. of the Ref. & Religion within the

land was now all that was left to Mary, and with a sudden assumption of energy, she hurried to her native country (1561).

When Mary landed at Leith, she was only nineteen years old. French life and training had made her a stranger in her own land. She was not skilled in Scotch affairs, and was confronted by a nobility which held the political power and had little respect for the sovereign. Worst of all, she, the Catholic, was divided by the abyss which in those days separated Protestantism and Catholicism, from the hearts of her subjects. It is necessary to realize these elements of the situation in approaching the problem of her rule; but it is also necessary to have a view of her character, in order to understand how she affected and was in turn, affected by the situation.

The situation
in Scotland.

Mary was endowed by nature with admirable gifts. Grace of figure and grace of spirit were added to a nimble wit and a keen intelligence. The chance that tossed her to France, furnished her with a rare opportunity for development. The court of the Valois had become the home of all the exquisite influences of the Renaissance, and the people she met there, the very air she imbibed, breathed joy and art. She soon became the ruling genius of a bright circle, and the hours revolved for her amidst dancing, music, and poetry. Her contemporaries never tired of praising her beauty; but better than formal beauty she possessed spiritual fascination, and could by the aid of it evoke that boundless loyalty which raises partisans for her even in our day. Thus endowed she was called to be a great queen, on one condition: she must subordinate her passions to her task of sovereign. But here it was that she failed. Her cousin Elizabeth, who did not fail in this particular, proved herself thereby, if not the better woman, at least, the greater queen. Comparing the two

The character
of Mary.

sovereigns, who inevitably force a comparison upon us, standing as they do in history, flashing challenge at each other, there is no better summary of the contrast which they present than the familiar judgment: Elizabeth was first statesman and then woman, Mary was first woman and then statesman.

Mary marries
Lord Darnley.

Mary began well enough. She accepted the Presbyterian Kirk and only reserved to herself the right of Catholic worship. For four years Scotland enjoyed peace. But in the year 1565, Mary married her cousin, Lord Darnley, and by that event she and all Scotland were plunged into troubles involving a succession of climaxes, unique in history.

The murder of
Rizzio and of
Darnley.

Lord Darnley turned out to be proud, loutish, and dissolute. Hardly married, he became the tool of the party of nobles opposed to Mary. They represented to him that if he did not enjoy full authority with the queen, it was due to one of Mary's foreign secretaries, an Italian, David Rizzio. Darnley, egged on by the nobles, resolved to have vengeance. Together with some followers, he fell upon Rizzio, dragged him from the royal presence chamber, and despatched him at Mary's door (1566). Much of what followed is uncertain. Certain it is that Mary's love for her husband was henceforth turned to poisonous hate. She planned revenge. For the present, Darnley and his party held the reins in their hands and she was forced to resort to dissimulation. By cleverly feigning affection, she brought her husband to his knees before her, separated him from her enemies, and quickly reacquired control. In February, 1567, the house where Darnley was living just outside the walls of Edinburgh was shattered by an explosion of gunpowder, and Darnley was found dead the next morning. Report fixed upon the earl of Bothwell, a dare-devil cavalier, who was known to be in love with

the queen, as the murderer. Was the queen his accomplice? The question has been put but never answered satisfactorily. By what followed the murder, however, she has compromised her good name beyond help. Not only did she permit Bothwell's trial for the murder of Darnley to degenerate into a mere farce, but shortly after his acquittal she married him.

It was always maintained by Mary, that in marrying Bothwell she had not consulted her free will, but had yielded to violence. But her subjects, horrified at her conduct, refused to believe her. They revolted against her, and although, with rare courage, she rallied again and again from defeat, by the year 1568 she found herself without further resources. Despairing of success, she sought refuge in England. She would have done better to have sought it in the sea. She became Elizabeth's prisoner, and won her release only, after nineteen years, by laying her head upon the block. The government of Scotland was intrusted, on Mary's flight, to Mary's half-brother, Lord Murray, who assumed the regency in behalf of her infant son, James.

Mary flees to England.

It is not difficult to explain the policy which Elizabeth adopted toward her royal cousin. It was dictated chiefly by considerations of state. Looking out from London over Europe the queen beheld a perplexing situation. She saw Philip II. in arms against the Protestant Netherlands (Alva and the Council of Blood, 1567), and the king of France preparing to make an end of the Huguenots (Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572); she heard of constant plots on the part of her own Catholic subjects to raise Mary to the throne; and she saw, in general, a threatening concentration of the whole Catholic world for a supreme blow against the Protestant heresy.

The explanation of Elizabeth's attitude toward Mary.

The Catholic reaction organized by the Council of

War between
Spain and
England.

Trent, which had just come to a close (1563), was now ripening to a climax. In the degree in which it matured, the struggle between England and Spain was becoming inevitable. Luckily at the approach of the great crisis the temper of Englishmen was hardening to steel. In the consciousness of their power, they even invited the threatening storm; Sir Francis Drake and a dozen other freebooters fell upon the Spaniards wherever they found them, plundered them on the seas, and slaughtered them in their settlements. While Philip and Elizabeth were still protesting friendship in official notes, their subjects had already engaged in combat on their own account. Elizabeth's aid to the revolted Netherlands finally made an end of Philip's patience. He prepared against England an unexampled armament.

Execution of
Mary.

It was the rumor of Philip's invasion of England, coupled with the renewed activity of the Catholic supporters of Mary, that cost the unfortunate queen of Scots her life. Probably it had little value to her and death was not unwelcome. She had grown old and gray behind prison walls; she knew herself beaten. Lord Burghley pretended to believe that Mary was a party to a conspiracy which a man by the name of Babington had directed against the life of Elizabeth, and persuaded the queen, who hypocritically feigned reluctance, to sign her cousin's death-warrant. In February, 1587, Mary was executed at Fotheringay.

The English
prepare to
meet the Ar-
mada.

The next year the war between Spain and England came to a head. Philip, having at length got together one hundred and thirty-two ships, proudly called his Invincible Armada, despatched them toward the English coasts. The plan was that the Armada should sail first to the Netherlands, and by putting itself at the disposal of the duke of Parma, who commanded the Spanish troops in this part of the world, should enable that great captain to effect a landing in England. The island-realm was thoroughly alive to

its danger. In the face of the foreign invader, all religious differences were forgotten and replaced by a flaming national enthusiasm uniting all parties. In fact, the Armada may be called the death-blow of English Catholicism ; for from now on, to be a Catholic meant to be a friend of the tyrant Philip, and no true Englishman would suffer the imputation of such dishonor. An army and a navy, filled with the spirit which is ready to do and die, were put at Elizabeth's disposal. But the main burden of defence fell necessarily upon the seamen. With such leaders as Lord Howard, Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Martin Frobisher, many of whom had spent a life-time fighting the Spaniards on all known seas, the English were not likely to fail for want of bravery and skill. Nor were they likely to fail for want of the material means of protection. They mustered even more ships than the Spaniards, finally no less than one hundred and ninety-seven. Though these ships were no match in size for the Spanish galleons, by their speed, their excellent equipment, and the perfect seamanship of their sailors they more than made up the difference in bulk. The Spanish fleet had hardly appeared, toward the end of July, 1588, off the west coast of England, before the small and rapid English vessels darted in upon their rear and flank. The damage which was done the Spaniards during a passage of the Channel lasting eight days, forced them to harbor off Calais for repairs. Here a number of fire-ships sent among them discomfited them so completely that the admiral gave up the enterprise. Finding the Channel blocked behind him, he tried to make for home by the coast of Scotland. But there he fell victim to the equinoctial storms, which proved to be even more terrible enemies than the English. The Spanish ships were shattered miserably upon the rocks, and only the barest remnant ever returned to Cadiz to tell the tale of the disaster.

The defeat of
the Armada.

The meaning
of the English
victory.

England was safe ; and more than England, the cause of Protestantism in the Netherlands and the world over. Spain and the Catholic reaction had staked their all upon the success of the Armada ; having lost, their aggressiveness received an effective check.

Elizabeth's
last years.

As for Elizabeth, the coming of the Spanish Armada was the climax of her brilliant reign. Henceforth her people identified her with the national triumph and worshipped her as the very spirit of England. But her private life slowly entered into eclipse. She was old, childless, and lonely. Her last sincere attachment, of which the earl of Essex was the object, brought her nothing but sorrow. Essex had been put at the head of an army destined to subdue Ireland, which was just then agitated by the famous rising of O'Neil ; but as he flagrantly mismanaged his campaign he had to be dismissed in disgrace. Full of resentment against Elizabeth, he now engaged in a treasonable plot, but was discovered and executed (1601). It is hard to believe that the woman who all her life looked upon love and courtship as a pleasant recreation, should have really cared for the amiable earl ; certain it is, however, that she went into a decline soon after his execution and died disgusted with the world (1603).

England
adopts the
sea.

Most wonderful to consider remains England's varied progress during this reign. In fact, the reign became the starting-point of a new development. For the first time Englishmen grew aware that their true realm was the sea. The great sailors like Drake, Davis, and Frobisher voyaged to the remotest lands, and though they established no colonies, and though such attempts as were made by Sir Walter Raleigh, for instance, in Virginia, turned out to be premature, the idea of a colonial empire in the future was implanted in the minds of Englishmen ; and for the present, there were established lucrative commercial relations with

various parts of the world. Before the death of Elizabeth, England, which had theretofore allowed Spain a monopoly of the sea, had fairly entered upon the path of oceanic expansion. The spread of the Anglo-Saxon race, one of the most significant events of Modern History, may therefore be dated from the time of Good Queen Bess.

With the increase of commerce, there came an increase of industry and wealth and a more elevated plane of living, which showed itself in a greater luxury of dress, in a courtier society, and in the freer patronage of the theatre and the arts. Altogether England was new-made. The Italian Renaissance poured out its cornucopia of gifts upon her, and there followed such an energy of existence and expansion of the intellectual life of man as make this period one of the great culture-epochs of history. The Englishman of Elizabeth's time broke away from the narrowing mediæval traditions and became, like the Italian of the previous generation, entranced by the beauty of the world which spread out before him, waiting only to be conquered. It is this kind of man, exuberantly happy in the possession of himself and his environment, who produces a great art.

The expansion of life

The great art by which Englishmen expressed their sense of this fresh and delightful contemporary life is the drama. Christopher Marlowe (d. 1593), Ben Jonson (d. 1637), but especially William Shakespeare (d. 1616) are its great luminaries. But the other fields of art and science were not left uncultivated. Edmund Spenser (d. 1599) wrote the great epic poem of the English tongue, the *Faërie Queen*, and Francis Bacon (d. 1626), the philosopher, revolutionized science by abandoning the dead mediæval methods and referring man directly to nature and experience.

Shakespeare and Bacon.

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLT OF THE NETHERLANDS AND TRIUMPH OF THE SEVEN UNITED PROVINCES (1566-1648)*

The Netherlands under the Burgundian princes.

THE part of Europe which has been designated from of old as the Netherlands or Low Countries, is embraced approximately by modern Holland and Belgium. In the Middle Age the Netherlands consisted of a number of feudal principalities or provinces, constituted as duchies, counties, or lordships (for instance the duchy of Brabant, the county of Flanders, the county of Holland), all of which were practically independent of all foreign powers and of each other, although there was not one to which France or Germany did not, by some unforgotten feudal right, have a claim. In the later Middle Age the House of Burgundy, a collateral branch of the House of France, had attempted to consolidate these provinces into a state, which should be independent of both the western and the eastern neighbor; but before the project had succeeded the family died out in the male branch with Charles the Bold (1477).

The Netherlands under the Hapsburgs.

In spite of this calamity the political experiment of the Burgundian princes was partially successful. Louis XI. of France, indeed, took away the duchy of Burgundy and incorporated it with France, but the Netherlands proper passed into the hands of Charles's daughter Mary, and from her, through her marriage with Emperor Maximilian, to the House of Hapsburg. In due time they became the possession of Maximilian's grandson, known as Charles V. Charles having been born in the Netherlands, in the city of Ghent, always retained an affection for this

* *Motley, Rise of the Dutch Republic.*
"Hist. of the United Netherlands.
Campbell, The Puritan in Holland, England,
and America, Vol. I., chs. vii. and viii.
Fisher, ch. ix.

corner of his vast dominions, and therefore continued the efforts of his ancestors at consolidating its diverse territories. His labor was not entirely without results. The provinces, seventeen in number, were under him united into a state possessing a certain measure of compactness. But that slight reform did not allay his fears about this precarious heritage. His rival, France, was likely to covet parts of the Netherlands, and in order to give them protection from that side, he incorporated them in a loose way and without impairing their independence, with Germany, as the circle of Burgundy (1548).

The Netherlands are peopled by two races, Kelts and Teutons, who, on the whole, have got along very well together here. The Kelts are a minority, speak a French dialect, and inhabit the southern districts of what is now Belgium. The Teutons inhabit the northern half of what is now Belgium and the whole of what is now Holland. Although originally one in blood and speech, they have been artificially divided, by the chances of history, into Flemish, the Teutons of Belgium, and Dutch, the Teutons of Holland, and employ two slightly different German dialects.

The Kelts and the Germans.

A good part of the land of the Low Countries is below the level of the sea, and has been won from that element only in undaunted, century-long struggles by means of a system of dykes, which form the rampart of the land against the hungry water. But the sea was not the only enemy to overcome in order to render the Netherlands habitable. The equally great danger arising to life and property in these parts from the periodical inundations of the great rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse and the Scheldt, had to be met by an enterprise no less gigantic than the dykes. To carry off the overflow there was devised and gradually completed a system of canals, which covers the country like a net and distributes the water from the rivers over a

Physical features ; dykes and canals.

vast area. The plentiful water-ways of Holland and Belgium, although due in the first instance to necessity, have proved a pure blessing. They have given the country the greenest and the richest meadows of Europe, and besides, furnish thoroughfares for traffic, which have the merit of cheapness, durability, and picturesqueness.

The advance
of commerce
and intelli-
gence.

The original inhabitants of the Netherlands were farmers, herdsmen, and fishermen. Commerce and industry, gaining a foothold gradually, created cities. These, in the course of the Middle Age, wrung charters from their feudal lords, acquired a substantial burgher freedom, and aided by their situation, favorable to a world-wide intercourse, presently eclipsed the other cities of the north. Antwerp, Bruges, Ghent, Haarlem, and many other cities shared under the Burgundian princes in the extension of trade and industry, and raised their country, in point of material prosperity, and of intellectual culture, to the first rank in northern Europe. During the long reign of Charles V. the activity of the inhabitants was spurred to its highest capacity, and the country advanced steadily in every department of civilization.

The persecu-
tions of
Charles.

The reign of Charles in the Netherlands, so successful in other respects, was in one very important particular, a conspicuous failure. The religious agitation which troubled Germany was naturally disrespectful of landmarks, and at an early point of its history was carried into the Low Countries. Charles, whose dependence upon the princes of the Diet forced him, as we have seen, to a disastrous dilatory policy in Germany, was not the man to hesitate where he had the power to act. In the Netherlands the Lutheran heresy was, therefore, met on its appearance by a relentless hostility, which waxed more and more fierce, as Charles's reign proceeded. The Inquisition, already engaged in its hateful activity in Spain, was established in the Nether-

lands also, and special inquisitors were appointed for every province. Confiscations, imprisonments, burnings at the stake became a daily occurrence. The edicts^{*} of Charles against heresy finally went so far as to pronounce the penalty of death against persons discovered to have in their possession suspected writings, against those who held secret prayer-meetings, and against whosoever ventured merely to discuss the Holy Scriptures. The Protestants in the Netherlands were long hardly more than a handful, but Charles's rigor did not exterminate them. In fact, their numbers swelled constantly. The persecution only served to illustrate once more the famous observation that there is no seed like martyr's blood. To the original Lutherans were soon added Anabaptists and other revolutionary sects, who found the intelligent and liberal society of the Netherlands a fertile soil for the propagation of their tenets; and from the middle of the century the faith of Calvin, destined to give the Protestantism of Holland its peculiar mould, found admission, by way of France, into all the leading cities. In this part of the world, therefore, the Inquisition found a rich harvest. Contemporary guesses placed the figure of its victims during Charles's reign at 50,000 and even more. This is doubtless an exaggeration, but it is sufficiently correct to establish that monarch's partial guilt in the great tragedy which followed. But as Charles was well loved in the Netherlands, there was during his life no important outbreak against his system. At last, on October 25, 1555, broken by his failure in Germany, he formally, in the presence of the States-General, resigned his crown to his son and heir, Philip II. It is a notable stroke of historical irony, that on that splendid occasion the aging emperor appeared, leaning for support on the arm of a young man, who, although his friend and favorite, was destined to do his son an irreparable injury, William, prince of Orange.

** Known as "Placards": the first one was issued from Worms, in 1521.*

Increased per-
secution under
Philip.

The harsh, cold mind of Philip II. was even less adapted than his father's to solve the religious troubles of the Netherlands. Like his father, his one notion of healing heresy was to extirpate it, root and branch. The Inquisition was immediately spurred on to greater activity, until the fagot-fires lighted for the victims of the new faith fairly wrapped the country in flames. Philip himself remained in the Netherlands to watch over the execution of his orders,* while terror began to steal, like a spectre, into every household. The majority of the people, though still Catholic, shared the Protestant aversion to the senseless policy of the inquisitors, and a gradual discontent, boding a storm, settled upon all classes.

The Peace of
Cateau-Cam-
brésis, 1559.

But there was other work in the world for Philip besides persecuting the Dutch Protestants. In order finally to have his hands free he wished to close, by a decisive stroke, his father's long wars with France. He therefore prepared for a vigorous campaign. It will be remembered that in 1554 he had married Queen Mary of England, thereby securing himself a valuable ally. Having twice defeated the French, at Saint Quentin (1557) and at Gravelines (1558), and having, in consequence, disposed them to a settlement, he refused to concern himself further about allied England, and concluded with France the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). England paid for the assistance she had rendered Spain by the loss of Calais; but Philip got what he wanted. The Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis closes the first chapter in the long rivalry of France and Spain, and is the substantial admission of the supremacy of Spain in Europe. It was a feather in Philip's cap—just the kind of thing he needed to impress his various peoples. Now, at last, he resolved to go to Spain. Leaving his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, as regent in the Netherlands, he sailed away (1559) never to return.

* Philip had continued the "Reformation" first issued by his father.

His departure hurried the threatening crisis. The government had been intrusted to the Regent Margaret and a Council of State, composed chiefly of Philip's creatures. It is plain that, if the master had encountered opposition, the measures of servile favorites of his were bound to arouse furious resentment. Moreover, Margaret's government, far from taking any trouble to attach the people to itself, seemed rather to make a business of alienating every class. The nobles, who had formerly had great influence in the administration, found themselves supplanted by a few upstart courtiers. Naturally their grievances brought them more closely together, and the most powerful of them, the Prince William of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Horne, rose into the position of opposition leaders. The burghers had even a longer list of complaints than the nobles. They were excited by the illegal quartering on their towns of Spanish troops ; they complained of the multiplication of bishoprics, which had the tendency of strengthening the hold of the Church ; and, finally, they were insulted by the grievance, now a generation old, and borne with less and less patience, of the Inquisition and its judicial murders. Discontent was plainly ripening to revolt.

The growing
discontent.

The occasion for the rising was furnished by the nobles. In 1565 they formed a league* among themselves, the purpose of which was to secure the abolition of the Inquisition, operating, as they put it, "to the great dishonor of the name of God and to the total ruin of the Netherlands." In the same document in which they made this complaint they avowed their continued allegiance to the king. It was not the dynasty against which they protested, but the abuse which the dynasty upheld. On April 5, 1566, three hundred of their number marched on foot through Brussels, which served as the capital of the country, to the palace of the regent, to lay a statement of their grievances in her

The protest of
the nobles,
1566.

* Known as the "League of the Nobles"

hands. She was sorely perplexed by the imposing demonstration, but half dead with fright, she promised to forward the document to the king. In a banquet that followed, the nobles, amidst a scene of unbounded enthusiasm, took the name of beggars (*gueux*), which, so the legend runs, was flung at them insultingly by one of the courtiers as, petition in hand, they drew up before the regent.

The revolt of
the image-
breakers, 1566.

The bold act of the "beggars" thrilled the whole country. Unfortunately it unchained also the long-repressed indignation of the people. The government of the regent was set at naught. To all alike it seemed that the time had come when the restraints which had weighed upon them should be cast to the winds. The citizens, imitating the nobles, formed a league among themselves and raised money and soldiers. The Protestants openly avowed their faith, and gathering in large troops before the cities, listened with greedy ears to the revolutionary addresses of fanatic pastors. At length the excitement culminated in a furious revolt. The Catholic churches were invaded, their pictured windows, their saintly images were broken, their crosses and altars were shattered to fragments. The ruin of art wrought by these iconoclasts was incalculable. It was weeks before the fury spent itself, and months before the government rallied enough of the orderly elements to repress the insurgents. Philip had received his warning. Would he understand it?

The coming of
Alva.

It is very possible that the abolition of the Inquisition and the proclamation of religious tolerance, which the nobles demanded, would have put an end to all trouble. But these ideas were foreign to the rulers of that day, and seemed nothing less than deadly sin to a bigoted Catholic like Philip. Instead of assisting the regent in confirming the recently established order, he planned a fearful vengeance. One of his best generals was the duke of Alva.

Soldier and bigot, he was the typical Spaniard of his day, animated with blind devotion to his king and to his faith. Him Philip commissioned with the punishment of the Netherlands, and in the summer of 1567 Alva arrived at Brussels at the head of an excellent corps of 20,000 Spaniards. Terror spread at his approach. Although his purpose was not stated, and might be peaceful, it was apparent that 20,000 soldiers were more than a mere company of honor. Just before Alva arrived Prince William of Orange, with a host of those who felt themselves compromised by the recent events, crossed the border into safety.

Alva did not long leave the anxious people in doubt as to whether he aimed at peace or war. A council, infamous in history as the Council of Blood, was set up for the discovery of all those who had taken part in the late troubles. Whosoever was seized by the police was put to death; thousands perished, hundreds of thousands fled the country. Among the more illustrious victims were the Counts Egmont and Horne, whom neither their Catholic faith nor their services to the king could save. Paralyzed by the violence of the attack the country meekly suffered the unheard-of persecution.

The Council
of Blood.

In these difficulties the first help was extended from without. William of Orange¹ had saved himself to some purpose. He now began the glorious career by which he founded the liberties of his country and became its hero and its martyr. The world has known many a better general and perhaps many a more skilful statesman, but it has never known a stouter, more courageous heart. Frequently

William of
Orange.

¹ William is also called, and quite as properly, William of Nassau. The national hero of the Netherlands was not a born Dutchman. He belonged to an originally German family that was established at many points of Europe: Orange for instance, was a little principality in southern France; Nassau lay in Germany; At Nassau William was born. His interest in the Netherlands was due to the large possessions which the family had there.

almost single-handed, and at best with hardly more than the divided support of his little people, he braved the world-power of Spain, and through defeat piled on defeat held out in his resolution. William the Silent is his title in history; it tells a tale of patient endurance of every kind of disaster, and is another way of saying William the Brave.

The beginning
of the war.

In the spring of 1568 William, having collected about him his brothers and other emigrants, and having turned all his available possessions into money, began gathering an army for the purpose of invading the Netherlands. His project was equivalent to a declaration of war against Philip. Both sides, recognizing that the time for deliberation was over, now prepared to settle the issues between them on the battle-field. Their contemporaries, to whom it seemed that no amount of courage could wipe out the awful disproportion between the combatants in wealth and numbers, generally shrugged their shoulders in pity or derision at the diminutive people which challenged the greatest power of Europe. And yet, after a dramatic struggle of eighty years (1568-1648), the small nation issued from the fight as victor. / No war more honorable than this has ever been waged in the history of our race. //

The Spanish
successes in
the field,

The first campaign of the long war of Dutch Independence proved the complete superiority of Spanish generalship and Spanish soldiery. First, William's brother, Louis, and then William himself were defeated and their armies scattered. Alva in consequence made light of the invasion. It had not been supported, as William had calculated, by an internal rising. To all appearances the country, crushed under the Spanish heel, had fallen into a torpor. But if this was what Alva counted on, he was destined before long to a harsh awakening. The Netherlands had, indeed, failed from fear to respond to William's

first call, but unfortunate as the campaign of 1568 was, it had had its effect; it had excited the people for a moment with the hope of deliverance and so stiffened them for resistance. Alva's own folly did the rest. Every act of his strengthened them in their feeling that death was better than life under the Spanish rule. This appeared when Alva attempted (1571) to fill his empty treasury by a system of outrageous extortion, the chief feature of which was a tax of ten per cent. upon every commercial transaction, including even the purchase of the daily necessities. To this monstrous proposition the citizens responded simply by the closing of their shops and the total cessation of business.

While Alva was still embarrassed by the commercial deadlock which he had himself created, there came the news of the first triumph of the insurgents. If Spain held the land in her iron grasp, she could not in the same unchallenged way hold the sea, peculiarly the element of the Dutch. Dutch freebooters, known as the "beggars of the sea," had long done great harm to the Spanish trade, but now (1572), rendered bold by the misfortunes of their fellow-countrymen, they swept down upon the coast, and secured the first stronghold in their fatherland at a point called Brille. Dozens of towns, especially in the northern provinces, felt suddenly encouraged to drive the Spaniards out, and Alva unexpectedly found his power limited to Brussels and the south. Thereupon the liberated province of Holland elected William the Silent its Stadtholder,¹ and Holland and Zealand together, both situated on the sea, became from this time forth the heart of the Dutch resistance.

Thrown into the fiercest mood by these sudden reverses, Alva prepared to win back the lost ground. Pity hence-

The Dutch
successes on
the sea.

¹ Stadtholder is about equivalent in meaning to Lord-Lieutenant. The choice of the word was determined by the desire not to offend Philip, whose legitimate right was at this time not yet questioned.

Barbarous
character of
the war.

forth was excluded from his thoughts. Mechlin, Haarlem, and many other towns, which he recaptured, were delivered to the unbridled excesses of the Spanish soldiery. Women and children were slaughtered in cold blood. The war entered upon a new stage, in which oppressors and oppressed thirsted for each other's blood like wild beasts, and neither sought nor gave quarter. It was a fight to the last ditch and of unexampled fury.

Recall of Alva.

Alva's incapacity to deal with the situation was soon apparent to friend and foe. Before the walls of Alkmaar he met, in the year 1573, with a serious check. His six years of government (1567-73) by Council of Blood and Inquisition had ended in unqualified disaster. Tired of staring at the ruin about him he demanded his recall.

The siege of
Leyden, 1574.

His successor as Spanish governor-general was Requesens (1573-76). Requesens was a sensible, moderate man, who might have done something, if matters had not gone so far under Alva. But although he abolished the Council of Blood and proclaimed an amnesty, everybody continued to look upon him with distrust. So he had to proceed with the military subjugation of the revolted provinces. The most notable event of his lieutenancy was the siege of Leyden (1573-74). When the city seemed for failure of provisions to be lost, William of Orange, all of whose attempts to succor the city had been thwarted, resolved on an extreme measure: he ordered that the dykes be cut.* As the water of the sea rushed over the fields, the "beggars" crowded after in their ships, until their heroic efforts brought them to the walls of the city. Thus Leyden was saved, and its name was celebrated with tears and thank-offerings, wherever Protestants in Europe met to commune. Prince William, wishing to reward the brave inhabitants for their heroism, offered them freedom from taxation or the

* For similar means of saving Amsterdam - a century later - see pp. 206-7.

establishment of a university. Wisely the single-minded burghers chose the latter, and during the next two centuries, the University of Leyden stood at the head of the universities of the world.

The death of Requesens, which occurred in 1576, was the indirect cause of a further extension of the revolt. As yet it had been confined to the provinces of the north, which had generally adopted the Protestantism of Calvin, and to such occasional cities of the south as inclined toward the same faith. Revolt from the Spanish yoke seemed to follow, wherever Protestantism had gone before. The grievances of the southern provinces against Spain were certainly as great as those of the north, but as the southerners clung to the Catholic faith, they always retained some affection for the Spanish rule. For a brief moment, however, following the death of Requesens, north and south, Teuton and Kelt, Protestant and Catholic—in a word, the United Netherlands—bound themselves together in one resistance. The occasion was furnished by the general horror inspired by the Spanish soldiery, which, left leaderless upon the death of Requesens, indulged itself in stealing, murdering, and sacking of the cities. The “Spanish Fury,” as the outbreak was called, did especial damage at Antwerp. This, the richest trading city of the Atlantic seaboard, was reduced to ashes and condemned to a decline from which it did not recover for two hundred years. Indignation at these outrages swept the country and in the Pacification of Ghent (1576), north and south proclaimed their common interests and prepared to make a common stand against the oppressor.

It was the most auspicious moment of the revolution, but it was not destined to bear fruit. The religious distrust between Protestants and Catholics, and less conspicuously, the national differences between Kelts and Teutons, fomented

The death of Requesens and the Pacification of Ghent, 1576.

North and south go their own way.

by the shrewd governors, Don John of Austria (1576-78) and the duke of Parma (1578-92), who succeeded Requesens, soon annulled the Pacification of Ghent and drove a wedge between the north and south, the result of which we still trace to-day, in the existence of a Protestant Holland and a Catholic Belgium.

The Union
of Utrecht,
1579.

It was especially owing to Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, a most excellent general and diplomat, that the southern provinces were saved for Spain. He was clever enough to flatter their Catholic prejudices and to promise a restoration of their privileges. If he had not been constantly interfered with by Philip he might even have reconquered the north. Thus with heavy heart William the Silent had gradually to relinquish the hope, extended by the Pacification of Ghent, of a united action of the whole Netherlands against Spain. Still he never wavered in his faith, and soon succeeded, on a smaller scale, in effecting an organization of the revolt. Hitherto the resistance had been left almost exclusively to the separate provinces. In 1579, the Protestant provinces of the north, finally seven in number (Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overijssel, Groningen, and Friesland) formed, for the purpose of an improved defence, the Union of Utrecht. The Articles of the Union of Utrecht practically remained the constitution of the new Dutch Republic well into modern times.

The Seven
United Prov-
inces form
an indepen-
dent state.

The character of the Union of Utrecht is often misunderstood. Its purpose did not go so far as the purpose of the American Declaration of Independence. It was rather in the minds of its originators a Protestant league, established for the purpose of defence against illegal aggression, and did not preclude a reconciliation with the legitimate sovereign. Two years later, however, the final step was taken on the road toward independence (1581); the

States-General, or Parliament of the Seven United Provinces, formally declared Philip deposed. As the crown was not conferred on anyone else, William of Orange, the hereditary Stadtholder of Holland, which was the largest and richest of the provinces, was allowed to keep the direction of affairs in his hands. Thus a new state made its entrance into history.

Philip had already seen that William the Silent was the backbone of the resistance, and that by good or ill means he must be got rid of, if the revolt was to be mastered. When bribes failed to detach William from the cause of freedom, the Spanish bigot published a ban against him, declaring his life forfeit, and putting a price upon his head. Whoever murdered him was to receive a patent of nobility and 25,000 gold crowns. Even such dastardly measures as these did not frighten William. In his answer, the famous "Apology," he justified his course and drew a stinging portrait of Philip which will be memorable to the end of time. But the rich offer of the Spanish blood-money had its effect. After a half-dozen attempts to dispatch William had failed, Balthasar Gérard, a fanatic from the Franche Comté, fatally shot him, as, arm in arm with a friend, he was coming down the stairway of his palace at Delft (July 10, 1584). His last thoughts turned toward the struggle in which his countrymen were engaged. "Lord have pity on my soul," he said, "and on this poor people." Gérard was executed, but Philip, who kept his word scrupulously, made over the promised reward to the murderer's heirs.

The murder
of William
the Silent,
1584.

William's death was a heavy blow to the cause of the Dutch, especially coming at the time it did. The duke of Parma was just then winning victory after victory, and constantly narrowing the territory of resistance; in fact only Holland and Zealand still held out against him. It

The English
interference.

was becoming painfully evident, even to the most sanguine patriots, that nothing but the interference of the great powers of Europe could save the provinces. The defence, nevertheless, was not in the least abated. Maurice, the gifted seventeen-year-old son of William, was appointed Stadtholder, and at his side there rose to influence, as Pensionary or Prime Minister, the wise, statesman-like John of Oldenbarneveltdt. The States-General then offered the provinces to Queen Elizabeth. Although she refused to accept them, she could no longer safely or honorably deny them her help. Catholic Spain and Protestant England had already begun to clash upon the sea, and the Protestant sentiment of England had declared vehemently for the persecuted co-religionists of the Netherlands. Cold and cautious as Elizabeth was, she never set herself against the national wishes, and so, in 1585, the first English troops, under the command of the queen's favorite, the earl of Leicester, were dispatched to Holland in aid of the insurgents.¹

Although Leicester proved thoroughly incompetent, and had in 1587 to retire in disgrace, his interference brought relief and probably through its consequences saved the Dutch. Abandoning the prey which he had almost captured, Philip II. turned furiously upon the English. For the next years, he seems to have forgotten his original enterprise; first the English, and then the French Huguenots engrossed his thoughts. There follow the disaster of the Armada (1588), the campaigns in France against the Protestant Henry of Navarre (1589-98), and in general such a dissipation and ruin of the Spanish power, as made

Spain dissipates her energy in other wars.

¹ The most celebrated name among these Englishmen was that of the poet, Sir Philip Sidney. At the siege of Zutphen, Sidney laid down his life for the Dutch cause. He was celebrated as the perfect knight, as the Sjr Launcelot of his day; and the last gracious little act of his life, when he ordered that the water which was being offered him should be first presented to a common soldier dying at his side, lingers in one's imagination.

it forever impossible for Spain to return, with anything like the old energy, to the attack upon the young Republic. However, Philip II. stubbornly held out against the Netherlands. Even after the death (1592) of his great general, the duke of Parma, whose advice had almost always been good and had almost never been followed, he continued the war. Philip III., who was as proud as his father, succeeded him (1598), and he too refused at first with the same obstinacy to listen to peace. But all this time the Dutch fortunes were plainly in the ascendant. Maurice, who was a gallant soldier, especially skilled in conducting a siege, won back from the Spaniards place after place; the brave Dutch sailors swept home and foreign waters clear of Spanish fleets; and the statesman, John of Oldenbarneveltdt, preserved the internal peace and encouraged Dutch commerce—creating, in 1602, the celebrated India Company, to which the Dutch Republic owed in large measure her vast oriental trade and possessions.

Under these conditions Spain at last saw herself forced to come to terms with her revolted subjects. Too arrogant to acknowledge herself defeated and once for all recognize the Republic, she would do no more than conclude a Twelve Years' Truce (1609). It was not the end, but as good as the end. When the truce was over (1621), the Thirty Years' War was raging in Europe, and although Spain tried to make the confusion serve her purposes, and again attacked the Dutch, the interference at different times of France, England, and the German Protestants, coupled with the firm resistance of the hardy little nation, rendered the second effort at the subjugation of the Dutch even more vain than the first. When the Peace of Westphalia (1648) put an end to the long German war, Spain at last declared herself ready for the great humiliation. Together with Germany and the other signatory powers of that famous

The Twelve
Years' Truce
and the Peace
of Westphalia.

peace-instrument she acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic.

Internal difficulties.

The young Republic was, of course, not saved from internal conflicts. The fact that the Union of Utrecht united the seven provinces in only a loose way, caused constant difficulties. The seven local governments remained persistently jealous of the central authorities, consisting of Council of State and States-General, and tried to limit their influence. It was only because the province of Holland was stronger than the other six put together, and could impose her will, which made for unity, upon the rest, that the centrifugal tendencies did not gain the upper hand. But perhaps even a more serious difficulty than this of provincial jealousy was the conflict which arose between the monarchical and republican parties. Maurice of Nassau not unnaturally tried to acquire the sovereignty for his family, and the lower people, dissatisfied with the exclusive burgher regimen in the great trading centres, supported him willingly. Opposed to Maurice was the wealthy burgher class. This class preferred republican to monarchical institutions, but it desired selfishly to extend the republican privileges to none but members of its own order. At the head of this party stood the Grand Pensionary, John of Oldenbarneveldt. Under these conditions, Maurice and Oldenbarneveldt were not long in falling out, and finally in the year 1619, the hot-headed Stadtholder resolved to put an end to what he called the chicanery of the statesman. In bold defiance of law, he had the aged Pensionary arrested and beheaded. Although Spain hoped much from these and similar dissensions, they benefited her nothing, and hardly impaired, even momentarily, the marvellous Dutch development.

The progress of civilization.

In fact, the commercial and intellectual advance of the Republic, during the course of the war, remains the most astonishing feature of the period. It was as if the heroic

struggle gave the nation an irresistible energy, which it could turn with success into any channel. The little sea-board state, which human valor had made habitable almost against the decrees of nature, became in the seventeenth century, not only one of the great political powers of Europe, but actually the leader in commerce and in certain branches of industry; contributed, beyond any other nation, to contemporary science; and produced a school of painting, the glories of which are hardly inferior to those of the Italian schools of the Renaissance. Such names as Hugo Grotius (d. 1645), the founder of international law; as Spinoza (d. 1677), the philosopher; as Rembrandt (d. 1674) and Frans Hals (d. 1666), the painters, furnish sufficient support to the claim of the United Provinces to a leading position in the history of civilization. Their material prosperity, which was as wonderful in its way as their culture, was derived from a world-wide trade. This was particularly extensive with the East Indies, and it was here that there were developed the most permanent and productive of the Dutch colonies, although there were such also, at one time, in Asia, Africa, and America.¹ The city of Amsterdam, in the province of Holland, was the heart of the vast Dutch trade, and, much like modern London, performed the banking business and controlled the money market of the entire world.

It was a tragical fate that awaited the southern provinces, which had remained Catholic and had docilely submitted to the Spanish tyranny. They had to pay the inevitable penalty of resigning the rights of manhood; henceforth their spirit was broken. Flanders and Brabant, which had once been celebrated as the paradise of Europe, fell into decay. The touch of intolerant Spain, here, as

¹ It will be remembered, for instance, that the region of New York was originally settled by the Dutch.

The decay
of the
southern
provinces.

everywhere, acted like a blight. It is a relief to note that in one branch of culture, at least, the inhabitants continued to distinguish themselves. The names of the great painters, Rubens (d. 1640) and Van Dyck (d. 1641) witnessed that the old Flemish spirit occasionally stirred in the tomb where it had been laid by Alva and Philip, and justified the hope that the future would perhaps bring with it a revival of French greatness.

CHAPTER VI

THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE TO THE RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENTS OF 1598 (EDICT OF NANTES) AND 1629 *

IN the year 1515 Francis I. ascended the French throne. Ever since 1494, when Charles VIII. had invaded Italy, the eyes of French monarchs had been riveted upon the peninsula. They seemed not to be able to give up the dream of the south which filled their minds, and although driven from their conquests again and again, they always plucked up courage to return to the attack.¹ Francis, who was young and filled with knightly ambition, had hardly acquired his crown when he hurried across the Alps. At Marignano (1515) he won a splendid victory over the Swiss mercenaries of the duke of Milan, and gained, as a result, the possession of Milan itself. But the success naturally excited the jealousy of Spain. As soon as Charles V. had, at the Diet of Worms (1521), settled the affairs of Germany to his fancy, he undertook to drive Francis out of Milan and also out of the duchy of Burgundy, which he believed ought to belong to himself as heir of Charles the Bold. There followed the long duel between Francis and Charles, the incidents of which have been narrated in connection with the history of Germany (Chapter I.). The student will remember that the most notable events of the wars of these two monarchs were the battle of Pavia, where Francis was captured (1525), and the sack of Rome (1527).

*Francis I.,
1515-47.*

The rivalry of
Francis and
Charles.

¹ See Introduction, p. 20.

* Fisher, ch. VIII. | Kitchen, Hist. of France,
Häusser { pp. 47-69, | Vol. II., Book III., Part II.
and Part VI. |
Adams, Growth of the French Nation, chs. X. - XII.

To one overlooking the whole weary conflict Francis's particular title to honor is, that in spite of the constant encroachments of Charles, and in spite of his own repeated defeats, he held stubbornly to his idea of an independent and united France, and by herculean efforts maintained it to his death. France was worsted by Spain, but proved that she could be neither diminished nor annihilated.

The attitude
of Francis
toward the
Reformation.

In addition to this matter of the wars with Spain, there are also to be considered, in connection with the reign of Francis, the beginnings of the Reformation in France. Francis himself was a child of the Renaissance, and probably brought neither interest nor understanding to bear upon the questions of religious reform. To his honor be it said that he had gone to Italy not for material conquests only. Bright-spirited and pleasure-loving, he had become enamoured of Italian life, of its social refinement, of its luxury of dress and dwelling, of its literature and art. It pleased him to be famed as a magnanimous patron, and he craved to become the friend of the great Italians of his day, and carry them all bodily to his own France, in order that they might there inaugurate a period of equal artistic productivity. A man of such a temperament, in whom people saw the very embodiment of the Renaissance, would naturally be inclined to look upon religious agitations somewhat ironically, and pass them by. And so it was with Francis until he discovered that the religious agitations bore a political aspect, and involved him in difficulties with the Pope and the rigid Catholic element of his people. Then, however, the time came when Francis, probably for purely political reasons, abandoned his indifference and became a persecutor.

The desire for
reform.

The beginnings of the Reformation in France are quite independent of Luther. In France, as elsewhere, the Renaissance had brought a desire for reform of life in state

and Church, and at the opening of the new century certain select spirits were beginning to formulate their protests against existing conditions. At the time when Luther was stirring up Germany, a small circle at Meaux, advocating the simplification of the Catholic Church, had already acquired a considerable influence. This is proved by the fact that among its patrons was no less a person than the favorite sister of Francis, Margaret of Navarre.

These reformers of Meaux were primarily humanists. The leading figure among them was the venerable Lefèvre. Desirous of furthering the cause of right living, he translated the Bible into French, preached the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and taught that Holy Writ was the only rule of life. All this associates him closely with Luther. Without attacking the independence of Lefèvre's conclusions, it may, however, be asserted that they would have been wasted upon a restricted circle of scholars, if Luther's name, which was soon fixed upon them, had not given them a reputation. This appears from the fact that Lefèvre for a long time excited only mild protests; but hardly had Luther engaged in his conflict in Germany when Lefèvre became the subject of fanatical denunciation on the part of the Catholics in France.

From the very first the famous Catholic seminary of Paris, the Sorbonne, which looked upon itself as the guardian of the orthodox faith, undertook to combat the heretical opinions of Lefèvre and his followers. Nevertheless, the opposition of this pedantic institution counted for little until the king was brought to its side. That occurred after the battle of Pavia (1525), when Francis needed the help of the Pope and the favor of his Catholic subjects to recover from the results of his defeat and captivity. The first executions of heretics in France were ordered at this time. Henceforward Francis, sometimes under the in-

The circle of
Meaux.
Lefèvre.

Francis
becomes a
persecutor.

fluence of his sister and her friends, sometimes under that of the Sorbonne and its adherents, wavered in his attitude. On the whole, he grew increasingly intolerant.¹

The Walden-
sian massacre,
1545.

The last years of the life of Francis are sullied by one of the most fearful crimes of this whole fanatical age. Up in the Alps of Provence, there dwelt a small sect, called Waldenses, who had maintained a heretical faith for centuries before Luther. Francis allowed himself to be terrorized by the Catholic reactionaries to such a point that, in a moment of weakness, he gave orders for the extermination of these poor peasants and mountaineers. The official report establishes, that three thousand persons were massacred, six hundred consigned to the galleys, and that, besides, many children were sold as slaves (1545).

The French
Renaissance.

It was plain, toward the end of the reign of Francis, that France was looking forward to an era of religious conflict. But happily the Reformation was only one aspect of her sixteenth century life. The reign of Francis was also the period of her Renaissance. Under the tutelage of this refined monarch, the country began to raise itself to that high social level, which has since distinguished its civilization, and art and literature entered upon a new and memorable era. Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, and a number of other Italian artists, brought to France by the king's bounty, gave the impulse which led to the creation of a native school of painting; and Rabelais, the great satirist (d. 1553), and Clément Marot, the poet (d. 1544), gave earnest by their works of a new and more comprehensive period of French literature than any that had preceded.

Henry II. and
his religious
policy.

1547-59.

The successor of Francis was his son, Henry II. (1547-59). He was a different man from his affable father,

¹ It will be remembered as one of the religious events of his reign, which has had far-reaching consequences, that Francis banished young Calvin from Paris. Chance took Calvin to Geneva, where he acquired a much greater influence than he could ever have had in France.

and his sombre character may be taken as an indication of the age of Catholic fanaticism which was approaching. On the day of his coronation Henry II. is reported to have said that "he would exterminate from his kingdom all whom the Church denounced." If he did not succeed in this pious enterprise it was because the spirit of resistance, animating the Protestants, was stronger even than the spirit of cruelty which filled the king. Edict after edict was hurled against the heretics, and hundreds were burned here, as in the Netherlands. If the system of the Inquisition was not formally established, France witnessed at least all the horrors of the Inquisition. And the only result was that the faith confirmed by martyrs' blood, struck its roots into the hearts of a constantly increasing band of Protestant worshippers.

Henry II. inherited from his father his enmity against Spain. Although his religious policy was, as we have just seen, violently orthodox, Henry II. could on occasion subordinate his Catholic aspirations to the political necessities of his position. The danger from Spain, therefore, induced him, after a little scrupulous hesitation, to ally himself with the Protestant princes of Germany. When Maurice of Saxony, in behalf of the German Protestants, attacked the Emperor Charles V. (1552), Henry II., in order to support Maurice's action, suddenly invaded Germany and occupied the three western bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Charles, having bought his peace at home by concessions to the Protestants (Peace of Augsburg), tried to drive Henry out again, but failed; the bishoprics remained in the possession of France. The episode is interesting, as the first in modern times of those territorial disputes between France and Germany, which have continued through centuries and are still a burning question of Europe at this day.

Henry II. acquires the three bishoprics.

War between
Philip II. and
Henry II.

The Peace of
Cateau-
Cambr sis,
1559.

France gets
Calais, 1558.

The
Huguenots
begin to take a
hand in poli-
tics.

Although the capture of the three bishoprics injured Germany, it was really an episode of the long wars between France and Spain. When Philip succeeded his father (1555), the contest between the two countries was resumed with new vigor, until the great Spanish victories of St. Quentin and Gravelines in the Netherlands brought about the Peace of Cateau-Cambr sis (1559). This peace settled all the territorial questions in favor of Spain, and left her undisputed mistress in Italy and in the Netherlands. But although France had been once more defeated, she managed to indemnify herself at the expense of another power. By the marriage of Philip II. to Mary Tudor, Spain had secured the alliance of England in the late war. In the year 1558, the French duke of Guise suddenly fell upon Calais, the last English possession upon the Continent, and by its capture completely obliterated the material consequences of the Hundred Years' War between France and England. In the sumptuous celebrations which followed the Peace of Cateau-Cambr sis, Henry II. was, during a tournament, wounded in the eye, and shortly after expired (1559).

Until this time the Protestants of France had suffered their persecutions in patience. They had not preached revolt nor sought political influence. But from the mere religious sect they had been, they now advanced to the r le of a political party. The change certainly detracted from their dignity and purity, but was, as the history of Protestantism in Germany, England, and everywhere proves, inseparable from the aims of the movement. Protestantism, although primarily a faith, affected the state in certain important respects and, therefore, by or against its will, had to develop a political programme. Happy may those countries be called, in which the political programme did not completely bury the original notion of a religious

re-birth! France is not to be counted among them. Although Huguenotism,¹ as Protestantism was called in France, always mustered a body of serious reformers and enthusiastic Christians, it was, before long, employed by ambitious men as a cloak, beneath which to mature with impunity their political revolutions. This dangerous development of Protestantism in France was due, in large measure, to the confusion which followed the unexpected demise of King Henry II.

At the death of Henry, his son, Francis II. who was Francis II., but sixteen years old, and physically and mentally feeble, 1559-60. succeeded to the throne. When the power in an absolute monarchy, such as France practically was at this time, is not exercised by the sovereign, it is inevitably snatched up by some court faction. The situation at court, therefore, on the accession of Francis, has an unusual interest.

The wife of the feeble Francis was Mary, Queen of Scots. The Guises. Although a woman of rare gifts, she was too young at this time to assume control, and thus it happened that the power fell into the hands of her French relatives—her mother's two brothers, of the family of Guise. The older, Francis, the duke of Guise, received the command of the army; the younger,* a cardinal of the Roman Church, undertook the control of the government. Both were ardent Catholics, attached with heart and soul to Rome and Spain.

There were those, however, who believed that their own rights were infringed upon by this usurpation of the Guises. First to consider, is the mother of Francis II., Catharine de' Medici. She was an Italian of the famous, The queen-mother, Catharine de' Medici.

¹ The terms Huguenotism and Huguenots were probably first applied in derision to the French heresy and heretics. Neither origin nor meaning have been explained satisfactorily.

* Charles

and by virtue of certain representatives, also infamous family, which had risen to sovereignty in Florence. To an inordinate ambition she added some of the characteristic qualities of her nation, a rapid intelligence, diplomatic skill, and entire unscrupulousness. Although her name has become a designation for everything that is vicious in civil and religious war, it is now established beyond doubt, that she was not a Catholic fanatic, and that, if she became a persecutor, it was primarily because the persecution served some political end. Certainly her contemporaries were not in the habit of thinking her worse than her environment. While this fact does not prove anything in her favor, it ought to disincline us to see in her nothing but the vampire which ultra-Protestant writers have persistently contended that she was.

The House of Bourbon seeks the support of the Huguenots.

For the present, the mother of the king had nothing to say, and brooded over her wrongs in silence. The active opposition to the Guises came from another quarter—from a collateral branch of the royal family, the House of Bourbon. The leading members of this House were Antoine, king of Navarre, and Louis, prince of Condé. Antoine had, by his lucky marriage with the heiress* to the small kingdom of Navarre, on the border between France and Spain, acquired, if not much power, at least some dignity. In his capacity as head of the younger branch of the ruling House, he was prepared to insist that an important place be ceded to him in the council of state. His brother, Condé, supported him in his ambition, and both were soon surrounded by a considerable body of "malcontents—" nobles, for the most part, who had been excluded from the honors and emoluments, and whose controlling idea seemed to be, that anything was permissible which tended to overthrow the usurping Guises. Now among the enemies of the Guises, who were a fanatically Catholic family, were

* the famous Jeanne d'Albret, daughter of Margaret (sister of Francis I., see p. 121) and Henry d'Albret (king of Navarre).

also the persecuted Huguenots, and out of the common hatred of Protestants and malcontents, there grew, before long, an intimacy and an alliance. Antoine, in a faithless, vacillating spirit, Condé, more firmly, accepted the Reformed faith; and many of their aristocratic supporters following their example, it came to pass, that Protestantism in France was gradually diluted and befouled with political intrigue.

Of all these high-stationed Huguenots, the one man who has won the respect of friend and foe is Gaspard de Coligny. He was related to the great family of Montmorency, and bore the dignity of admiral of France. Though he was not without political ambition, he merits the high praise of having been a man to whom his faith was a thing not to be bought and sold, and of having served it with single-mindedness to his death.

Out of these relations of the factions around the throne, grew the intrigues which led to the long religious wars in France. It is useless to try to put the blame for them upon one or the other side. Given a weakened royal executive; the implacable religious temper which marks the society of the sixteenth century; and a horde of powerful, turbulent, and greedy nobles, and civil war is a necessary consequence. We can notice only the more prominent symptoms of the coming outbreak. In the year 1560 there was organized, with the connivance of the Bourbon princes, the vast Conspiracy of Amboise, which planned to make an end of the Guises. It was discovered and a fearful vengeance taken. Whoever excited suspicion was arrested and without a trial hung to the castle-roof of Amboise or drowned in the Loire.

The Conspiracy of Amboise.

Shortly after, Francis II. died (December, 1560). His widow Mary, finding her rôle in France exhausted, thereupon left for Scotland, and the Guises, who had held the

Charles IX,
1560-74.

Catharine be-
comes regent.

power largely through her, suddenly found that their tyranny had come to an end. The successor of Francis was his brother Charles IX., a weak boy but ten years old, during whose minority, custom called for a regency under the queen-mother. Catharine de' Medici, therefore, at a stroke realized her ambition. But her new position was far from easy, as Guises and Bourbons alike watched her with jealousy. She resolved, therefore, with much moderation, upon a policy of balance between the hostile factions; called representatives of both into her council; and published a succession of edicts, securing to the Huguenots a limited toleration. It was the first effort of the kind that had been made in France to settle the religious difficulties. Its ending in failure proved again, if proof were necessary, that no compromise could satisfy men who, like the Protestants and Catholics of the sixteenth century, were passionately set on realizing their own ideas without the abatement of a jot or tittle. While the Catholics were embittered by the extent of Catharine's concessions, the Protestants grumbled at the remaining limitations, and among the more fanatical followers of the two parties, sometimes without provocation, there occurred sharp conflicts, frequently ending in terrible excesses.

The Massacre
of Vassy.

One of these conflicts, the Massacre of Vassy (1562), put an end to hesitation and led to war. The duke of Guise was passing through the country with a company of armed retainers, when he happened, near Vassy, upon a band of Huguenots, assembled in a barn for worship. Sharp words led to an encounter, and before the duke rode away, forty Protestants lay dead upon the ground and many more had been wounded. A fearful indignation seized their brothers in the faith, and when the duke of Guise was not immediately called to account by Catharine, Condé and Coligny armed and took the field.

** Especially the Edict of St. Germain :
see Index (Ref.), p. 266*

Thus were inaugurated the religious wars of France, which were not brought to a conclusion until 1598, by the Edict of Nantes, and which in their consequences continued to trouble the country well into the next century. For our purpose it is sufficient to look upon the period from 1562 to 1598 as one war, though it is true that there were frequent suspensions of arms, supporting themselves upon sham truces and dishonest treaties.¹ The war, like all the religious wars of the century, was waged with inhuman barbarity, and conflagrations, pillagings, massacres, and assassinations blot every stage of its progress. Protestants and Catholics became brutes alike, and vied with each other in their efforts to turn their country into a desert.

Character of the war.

When the Treaty of St. Germain* (1570), granting the Protestants the largest toleration which they had yet enjoyed, temporarily closed the chapter of conflicts, many of the original leaders had passed away. Antoine of Navarre had been killed in battle against his former friends, the Huguenots, whom he had treacherously deserted (1562); the duke of Guise had been assassinated (1563); and Condé had been unfairly slain in a charge of horse (1569). The head of the Huguenot party was now Antoine's young son, King Henry of Navarre, but the intellectual leadership fell, for the present, upon Coligny.

The Peace of St. Germain.

Meanwhile, a moderate party had formed in France, which tried to make the Peace of St. Germain the beginning of a definite settlement. It was only too clear that the bloodshed which was draining the country of its strength, ruined both parties and brought profit to none but the enemies of France. The more temperate of both sides,

Growth of a moderate policy.

¹ Eight wars have been distinguished as follows: First war, 1562-63; second war, 1567-68; third war, 1568-70 (ended by the peace of St. Germain); fourth war, 1572-73; fifth war, 1574-76; sixth war, 1577; seventh war, 1579-80; eighth war (called the War of the three Henries) 1585-89, which continued in another form until the Edict of Nantes (1598).

* For the Edict of St. Germain, see Fisher, *Ref.*, p. 260.

Coligny prominent among them, began to see the folly of the struggle, and King Charles himself, who was now of age, inclined to their view. And yet such were the mutual suspicions and animosities, that the effort to remove all cause of quarrel precipitated the most horrible of all the incidents of the war, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

After the Peace of St. Germain, Coligny had come up to Paris and had rapidly acquired a great influence with the king. The young monarch seemed to be agreed to put an end for all time to internal dissension, and to turn the strength of the united country against the old enemy of France, Spain. For this purpose he arranged, as a preliminary step, a marriage between his sister Margaret and young Henry of Navarre. Joyfully responding to the invitation of King Charles, the Huguenots poured in swarms into Paris to attend the wedding of their chief, which was celebrated on August 18, 1572.

The wedding
of Henry of
Navarre and
Margaret of
Valois.

The wedding seemed to inaugurate an era of Protestant triumphs. Coligny's star, shedding the promise of toleration, was rising steadily; that of the Guises and their ultra-Catholic supporters, standing for the principle of no-compromise, was as steadily setting. But suddenly the orthodox party, which, seeing ruin ahead of it, had fallen into a desperate mood, ready for any undertaking, received an unexpected addition. Catharine de' Medici, originally hardly more attached to the Guises than to the Huguenots, because primarily solicitous only about her own power, had lately lost all influence with the king. She knew well whither it had gone and fixed the hatred of a revengeful and passionate nature upon Coligny. Burning to regain her power she now put herself in communication with the Guises. On August 22d, as Coligny was entering his house, a ball, meant for his breast, struck him in the arm. The king, who hurried in alarm to the bedside of his

The alliance of
Catharine and
the Guises
against Colig-
ny.

councillor, was filled with indignation, and swore to take a summary revenge upon the assassin and his accomplices.

The terror of discovery and punishment, which now racked Catharine and the Guises, drove them to devise some means by which they might deflect the king's vengeance. On the spur of the moment, as it were, they planned the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. This famous massacre is, therefore, not to be considered, as was once the custom, the carefully laid plot of the Catholic heads of Europe, but rather as the bloodthirsty improvisation of a desperate band. Catharine de' Medici and the Guises were its authors, and the fervidly Catholic population of Paris was the instrument of their will. How the king's consent was got, when all was ready, would be difficult to understand, if we did not know that he was weak and cowardly, and ready for any measure when hoodwinked and terrorized. On St. Bartholomew's day (August 24th), a little past midnight, the tocsin was sounded from the churches of Paris. At the signal, the Catholic citizens slipped noiselessly from their houses, and surrounded the residences which had been previously designated by a chalk mark as the homes of Huguenots. Coligny was one of the first victims of the ensuing fury, Henry of Guise himself presiding at the butchery of his Huguenot rival. That night the streets flowed with blood, and for many days after, the provinces, incited by the example of the capital, indulged themselves in similar "bloody marriages." Henry of Navarre escaped death only by temporarily renouncing his faith. The victims of this fearful exhibition of fanaticism amounted to 2,000 in Paris, and 6,000 to 8,000¹ in the rest of France. We are helped in understanding the spirit of the time when we hear that the Catholic world, the

The Massacre
of St. Bar-
tholomew,
1572.

¹ These are the figures given by modern historians. Old writers used to speak glibly of fifty thousand and more. *Fisler (Hist. of the ref., p. 277) says, as many as 20,000 in the rest of France.*

Pope and Philip of Spain at its head, made no effort to conceal its delight at this facile method of getting rid of adversaries.

Henry III.,
1574-89.

War with all its dreary incidents straightway flamed up again. In 1574 Charles IX. died, out of remorse, as the Huguenots were fain to believe, for his share in the great crime of St. Bartholomew. His brother, Henry III., succeeded him on the throne. A new element of interest was introduced into the struggle only when the death of Henry's last brother, the duke of Alençon, and his own failure to have heirs, involved, with the religious question, the question of the succession.

Prospect of
the succession
of Henry of
Navarre.

By the law of the realm the crown would have to pass upon Henry's death to the nearest male relative, who was Henry of Navarre, head of the collateral branch of Bourbon. But Henry was a Huguenot, the enemy of the faith of the vast majority of his future subjects. Even before his succession appeared probable, Henry of Guise and his followers had formed the Holy League, which pledged itself to the interests of the Church, even against the king. As the Holy League satisfied the current fanaticism of the day, it became the rallying-point of Catholic France, and before long, Henry III. found at his side a man more really king than himself—his former friend and present head of the League, Henry of Guise. In measure as he tried to live up to his royal duty of mediating between the contending factions and establishing peace, he found himself deserted by the League, which would have no peace. France was, in consequence, soon divided into three camps, the ultras of the two religious parties, headed respectively by Henry of Guise and Henry of Navarre, and between them the party of the moderates* (politiques), headed by King Henry.

The war of
the Three
Henries.

There follows the phase of the struggle known as the war of the Three Henries (1585-89), which steeped the country

**i.e., moderate Catholics.*

in such confusion that men soon indulged in every form of lawlessness without punishment. In December, 1588, King Henry, who had tried all possible shifts to secure peace, even to the point of resigning the real power into the hands of the head of the League, indignantly resolved to put an end to his humiliation. He invited Henry of Guise to his cabinet, and there had him treacherously dispatched by his guard. But the League now turned in horror from the murderer, and Paris and Catholic France declared for his deposition. In his despair the king fled to Henry of Navarre, and was just about to advance with his Huguenot subjects upon his capital, when a fanatical Dominican monk forced admission to his presence and killed him with a knife (August, 1589). Thus the House of Valois had come to an end. The question was now simply between Henry of Navarre, the rightful claimant to the crown, and the League, who would have none of him.

The new Henry, Henry IV., first king of the House of Bourbon, was a brave soldier, an intelligent ruler, and an affable gentleman. He was the idol of his followers, but his followers were only a small part of France. The attachment of the Catholic majority he knew could only be won slowly, and certainly not by force. Therefore, he undertook with wisdom and patience to assure them of the loyalty of his intentions and win their recognition. If the League could only have found a plausible rival for the throne, Henry might have been annihilated ; but his claim was incontrovertible, and that was his strength. For the present no one thought of disarming. Henry won a number of engagements, notably the battle of Ivry (1590), but the League, supported by Philip of Spain, could not be scattered.

At last Henry, weary of the interminable struggle, resolved to take a decisive step. He abjured his faith and

Henry IV. (1589-1610)
and the
League.

Henry abjures
Protestantism.

begged to be readmitted into the Catholic Church (1593). His calculation of the consequences of this measure proved to be correct. He was almost immediately recognized throughout France, the League fell apart, and the war ceased. In February, 1594, he was solemnly crowned at Chartres, and in March he took possession of his capital amidst the unbounded rejoicings of those same Parisians, who had clamored on St. Bartholomew's day for his head.

Henry's justification.

Opinion has always been much divided on Henry's conversion. But there is no necessity for lingering over it long. It was purely a political measure, and a well-calculated one as the result shows, and though Henry professed before the priest that the change was with him a matter of conscience, we know that the conversion sat lightly upon him. "Paris is well worth a mass," was all the comment he offered his friends to explain his defection. Joyful, sensual spirits, such as Henry, are usually not overburdened with annoying religious convictions. His Protestantism had been a matter of birth and custom, and his Catholicism did not pierce an inch deeper. Under these circumstances, since his Protestantism and his Catholicism were morally of equal value, it was perhaps a wholly wise thing to drop the religious pretence, which alone separated his country from a desired peace. //

The Edict of Nantes, 1598.

The first important business of the recognized king was to secure his country the benefit of a permanent religious pacification. The edict which was intended to establish it, was published at Nantes, April, 1598. Although it was not a decree of toleration such as satisfies our modern feeling, it was the best the time could afford. It gave the great nobles and the citizens, in a certain number of specified cities, permission to establish the Protestant worship, but it rigorously excluded that worship from all episcopal cities and from Paris. Furthermore, the Edict of Nantes placed

the Huguenots on a level with the Catholics before the law ; and finally, to reassure them, and as a kind of guarantee of its promises, made over to them a number of fortified towns, of which La Rochelle was the most important. It was this last measure that later caused a renewal of the civil war, for it was a dangerous concession and made the Huguenots an independent armed power within the state.

In the same year (1598) Henry closed the war with Spain, due to Spanish interference in behalf of the League. Though he was not unwilling to proceed against his meddling neighbor with all vigor, he saw that his country was for the present in no condition for foreign conquest, and that he would better reserve his strength for the future. So he signed the Peace of Vervins (1598) on the basis of mutual restitutions.

Henry ends also the war with Spain, 1598.

Now that France was at peace within and without, Henry seriously set about the task of building up again his ruined country. With the aid of his Protestant minister, the duke of Sully, he re-established the finances, and advanced commerce and industry. The administration of Sully covered France with good highways, laid out canals, introduced many new branches of industry, and even made attempts to plant colonies in the New World, notably in Canada.

Internal government of Henry and Sully.

When, after years of labor, Henry saw himself in possession of an ordered and flourishing commonwealth, he began again to turn his attention to foreign affairs. The House of Hapsburg, governing through its two branches the dominions of Spain and of Austria, was still to his mind the great enemy of France. That France and the House of Bourbon must grow at the expense of Spain and the House of Hapsburg became Henry's fixed resolution. In 1610, a local quarrel in Germany was just about to furnish him with a desired pretext to interfere against the Hapsburgs,

Henry plans to abase the House of Hapsburg.

* *Kitchin's Hist. of France, vol. II., pp. 455-63.*

Adams' Growth of the French Nation, pp. 184-5.

when he was killed by the dagger of a half-insane Catholic fanatic, named Ravallac. To this day "Good King Henry" is dear to the French people, and his popularity has never been eclipsed by that of any of his successors.

*Louis XIII.,
1610-1643.*

The regency
of Marie de
Medici.

At Henry's death his son Louis XIII. (1610-43) was but nine years old. A regency had therefore to be set up under Louis's mother, Marie de' Medici, whom Henry IV. had married, upon the grant of a divorce from his first wife, Margaret of Valois. Marie, an Italian of the same House as the former regent, Catharine de' Medici, was a weak woman without talents of any kind. The sovereign power was, therefore, soon in a bad way. Favorites exercised the control, and the turbulent nobility, which had been repressed by the firm hand of Henry IV., began again, as at the time of Francis II. and Charles IX., to aspire to political importance. Among these nobles the Huguenot aristocracy, who had been permitted by the Edict of Nantes to keep up an army and several fortified places, assumed an especially threatening tone, and judging from the confusion which followed Marie's assumption of power, it seemed more than likely that France was drifting into another era of civil war.

The advent of
Richelieu.

If France was saved from this calamity, it was due, and solely due, to one man, Armand Jean du Plessis, known as Cardinal Richelieu.* When he entered the royal council, to become almost immediately, by the natural ascendancy of his intellect, first minister (1624), the queen-regent had already been supplanted by the king; but under the king, who had much more of his mother in him than of his father, and was slothful and unintelligent, the affairs of the realm had not been in the least improved. Richelieu, therefore, found himself confronted by a heavy task. But his unique position proved a help to him in fulfilling it. Having entered the Church, his talent had been so far rec-

* Read Lodge's "Richelieu", and
Kitchin's *Hist. of France*, Book IV. ch. IV. & V.
Adams' *Growth of the French Nation*, 1610-1643.

ognized that he was appointed cardinal in 1622, and from the shelter which his ecclesiastical dignity afforded him, he was able to deliver with impunity many a blow which would otherwise have cost him his life. The extraordinary power which he wielded for eighteen years (1624-42) to his death, and which completely obliterated the king, might in the hands of a less conscientious man have degenerated into the most repulsive tyranny; but Richelieu, on the whole, put it at the service of an enlightened patriotism. He set himself two aims; the first, to strengthen the monarchy within, for which purpose he must break the power of the nobility, both Catholic and Protestant; the second, to enlarge the monarchy without, in pursuance of which end he must renew the wars with his country's old rival, Spain and the House of Hapsburg.

His programme.

The power of the Catholic nobility Richelieu did not break without resistance. But the banishment of the king's worthless brother Gaston, the duke of Orléans, and the execution of a number of high-born plotters, who fancied that their names were a protection against punishment, gradually enforced obedience.

Resists the nobility.

Far more serious was the case of the rebellious Huguenots. They had been involved in the various desultory insurrections during the regency of Marie de' Medici, and their action was so much the more dangerous, as they were legally provided with the means of warfare—an army and fortified towns. It had become perfectly palpable by this time, that the Huguenots, if they were a religious sect, were also a political party, equipped* with a power that could make them, at need, independent of the government. This state within the state, Richelieu was resolved to put an end to. He did not argue in the least like a fanatic. In fact, although a cardinal of the Catholic Church, he clearly made the distinction between religion and politics, and an-

Resists the Huguenots.

* by the Edict of Nantes, 1598 (See p. 134).

Siege of
La Rochelle.

nounced, in taking up arms against the Huguenots, that the quarrel was not with their faith, but only with their political privileges. The campaign against the Protestants in which he now engaged was rapid and successful. Its one memorable feat was the siege of La Rochelle, on the western coast—a siege in which Richelieu himself took the command, and which was heroically sustained by the Rochelaise, ineffectually aided by their English ally, Charles I. When La Rochelle fell (1628), the Huguenots were at the cardinal's mercy. That in those embittered and intolerant times he remained true to his best convictions compels our respect. Richelieu, the churchman, made himself the first great practical exponent of our modern conception of toleration. He signed a peace^{*} with the Rochelaise, and later with the other Huguenots, in which he secured them all the privileges of the Edict of Nantes, barring the exceptional political power.

Peace with the
Huguenots,
1629.

Richelieu
plans to
humiliate
Spain.

For the present, the troubles of France were ended and all classes brought under the law of the king. The country was in the same tranquil condition as under Henry IV., and like Henry IV. Richelieu could now afford to interest himself in European affairs. He could, in other words, execute the second part of his political programme, which was the humiliation of the House of Hapsburg.

He interferes
in the Thirty
Years' War.

It was a most convenient circumstance that Germany was at this time convulsed by her great 'Thirty Years' War. With the instinct of the statesman, Richelieu felt that if he helped the Protestants there against the Catholics, represented by the Emperor and by Spain, he would sooner or later acquire some permanent advantages for France. His gradual interference which proceeded from subsidies of money in Germany and light campaigns in Italy, to the recruitment of large armies, finally secured his king the balance of power in the German war, and made France

** known as the Edict of Grace.*

practical dictator of Europe when the Peace of Westphalia (1648) ended the struggle. Richelieu did not live to see this result (he died 1642), but the advantage which France secured on that occasion may be written down to his statesmanlike conduct of the government.

Richelieu is sometimes called the creator of the absolute monarchy in France. That is an exaggeration, for ever since the time of Louis XI.* (1461-83) the French kings had been breaking the constitutional shackles that limited their will. However, at the time of Richelieu, there still were a number of ill-defined institutions which possessed a certain customary influence, operating as a restriction upon the king's power, and these Richelieu systematically reduced in importance.

Richelieu promotes absolutism.

Of these restrictive institutions those most in view were the States-General (états généraux) and the Parliament of Paris (parlement). The States-General were a kind of legislative body of feudal character, which derived their name from the fact that they constituted the general assembly of the three estates of the realm—the clergy, the nobles, and the burghers. The kings had been in the habit of consulting this body from time to time, but it had never succeeded in securing for itself, like the English Parliament a firm place in the government. The States-General were called together in 1614, at the time of the troubles of the regency, and then not again for one hundred and seventy-five years, in fact, till the time of the French Revolution. There occurred in this time no formal abrogation of their powers; what happened was that Richelieu and his successors merely permitted the institution to fall into oblivion. The Parliament of Paris (there were a dozen others in the provinces), radically different in its functions from the English Parliament, was chiefly a judicial body, we might say a supreme court. For no particular reason it had

The States-General and the parlement.

1789.

* Lodge (Richelieu, p. 1) says that "the real founder of absolute monarchy in France was Philip IV., who created that administrative system which gradually extended itself of independent local institutions of 'feudalism'."

acquired the strange right of registering the king's decrees. The king, as absolute master, could indeed publish new laws as he pleased, but custom required that they be sealed by the Parliament with its official seal in order to be valid. That looked on its face like an important privilege; however, it was not of much avail, because if the registration was refused, the king could force the hand of the recalcitrants by ordering the registration in person. Such a session of the Parliament, when the king attended in state, was called "a bed of justice" (*lit de justice*). The Parliament, also, Richelieu in his high-handed manner disregarded and abased, but soon after his death it acquired its old prerogatives again, and from then until the Revolution (1789) it acted, within its limited sphere, as a check upon the absolute power of the king. On the whole, therefore, France has reason to accept Richelieu's internal labors with a somewhat qualified approval.

Progress of
French
culture.

Richelieu's reign exhibits France advancing toward the zenith of her culture. He himself established the famous Academy of France, as a kind of sovereign body in the field of letters (1635), and lived to see the birth of the French drama in the work of Corneille (*The Cid*, 1636).

CHAPTER VII

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618-48) AND THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA *

THE Peace of Augsburg (1555) ended the first religious war of Germany, by an attempt to accommodate the claims of the Catholics and the Protestants. But this attempt did not and could not succeed. The article, called the Ecclesiastical Reservation, tried to protect the Catholic Church by forbidding all future secularizations of her territory, but the article had hardly been adopted when triumphant Protestantism infringed upon it at every point. The Catholics were thus furnished with a standing complaint against their rivals. And other difficulties were not wanting. Shortly after the Peace of Augsburg, the Protestantism of Calvin, which called itself the Reformed faith in distinction from the current Lutheran faith of Germany, spread, especially in the southwest (Palatinate), until it threatened to supplant the older Protestant worship. Thereupon the Lutherans, who with the intolerance of the age, hated their Reformed brethren as much as they hated the Catholics, joined the latter in insisting that the Calvinistic doctrine had no legal basis, since it was not included in the Peace of Augsburg. Thus Calvinism led a very precarious existence.

The Peace of Augsburg does not end the religious troubles of Germany.

It is a wonder that in spite of the incessant quarrels of the three parties, which filled all the Diets with their clamor, the peace was so long preserved. Probably jealousy of one another and fear of the consequences of the

Peace is preserved under the immediate successors of Charles.

* Fisher, ch. XII. / Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War*
 Häusser, Parts VII. - XI. / Schiller, *Hist. of the* " "

sanguinary struggle which would follow, kept them from proceeding to extremes. Moreover, the immediate successors of Charles V., his brother, Ferdinand I. (1556-64), and his nephew, Maximilian II. (1564-76), were moderate men, who hoped to achieve more for the unity of Christianity by peace than by war. They kept up amicable relations with the Protestant princes of both sects and concentrated all their efforts upon mediation.

The advance
of Protestant-
ism.

The long truce between the two faiths, which outlasted the century, was at first highly favorable to the Protestants. Lutherans and Calvinists alike were little impeded in their propaganda, and soon the whole German north had become solidly Protestant, while in the south, Austria and Bavaria themselves, states which were looked upon as mainstays of the Catholic faith, were becoming dangerously infiltrated with the heretical poison. The Venetian ambassador, an acute student of social phenomena, wrote at this time that scarcely one-tenth of the inhabitants of Germany still professed allegiance to the Papacy. The statement may have been an exaggeration, but it proves that the disposition of the people was favorable to the new faith, and that if the Protestants would only have ceased their mutual bickerings and organized their propaganda, they could, without the help of persecution, by the mere force of circumstances, have driven Catholicism out of Germany.

The growth of
the Catholic
reaction.

But the laxness of the Protestants lost them the prize, and soon the Catholics, arousing themselves from the lethargy into which they had fallen, reorganized their forces at the Council of Trent, under the leadership of the Jesuits, and boldly undertook the reconquest of Germany. From the time of Emperor Rudolph II. (1576-1612), a new Catholic vigor became noticeable. The Jesuits stole their way to the hearths of the ruling Catholic families, and from the courts of Vienna and Munich, as operating cen-

tres, gradually widened the sphere of their influence. They did their work with firm zeal and noiseless caution. They served their princely masters, as father-confessors or as ministers of state, and in either case controlled their policy; they founded schools and colleges; they sent their missionaries into all hesitating communities, and soon amazed the Protestants with the news of the reconversion to Mother Church of princes and whole territories.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the tension had so increased that, when a Catholic army took possession of the free City of Donauwörth (1607), because the Protestant population there had insulted a Catholic procession, the Protestants met in indignation and established a Union^{*} for purposes of mutual protection (1608). Their step was answered the next year (1609), by a similar organization on the part of the Catholics, which they called the Holy League. Henceforth, Germany was divided into the two hostile camps of League and Union, either ready to take the field against the other as soon as the occasion served. Under the circumstances the opinion was becoming general, that the terrible suspense about the endless religious questions ought finally to be terminated, one way or another. From the first, however, this difference between the two religious camps ought to be noted, that, while the Catholics were firmly organized under a capable man, Maximilian, duke of Bavaria, the Protestants, owing to their old divisions, gave their Calvinistic president, Frederick, the count palatine of the Rhine, only a wavering support.

Protestant
Union and
Catholic
League.

The occasion that the two parties were looking for, in order to begin the war, was at length furnished by Bohemia. The kingdom of Bohemia, a state inhabited by Slavs (Czechs) and Germans, was a member of the Empire, and had, under Ferdinand I. been added to the possessions of the

The affairs of
Bohemia.

* *from the Evangelical Union.*

House of Hapsburg. By the same irresistible process by which the faith of Luther had found its way into the Austrian territories, it had succeeded in getting a foothold in Bohemia. When Emperor Rudolph tried to root it out, he found that it was too strong for him, and was forced, in the end, to accept it. His charter of 1609, called the Letter of Majesty, practically established freedom of worship for Bohemia. But both Rudolph and his successor, Matthias (1612-19), bore with the Protestants only out of necessity, and from the numerous indignities put upon the new faith, it became evident to all that the charter was not intended as a final settlement. In the year 1618, the Protestants, angered beyond endurance at the brutal disingenuousness of Matthias, rose in revolt against his representatives. They invaded their castle residence at Prague, and tossed them roughly out of the window.¹ Then they set up a government of their own. Thus the challenge that Protestants and Catholics had been awaiting for years was given; the Thirty Years' War had begun.

The revolution
at Prague,
1618.

The four
Periods of the
Thirty Years'
War.

It is customary to divide the Thirty Years' War, for convenience sake, into four periods—the Bohemian-Palatine Period (1618-23), the Danish Period (1625-29), the Swedish Period (1630-35), and the French-Swedish Period (1635-48). Perhaps the most striking feature of the war is, that, beginning with a local struggle in Bohemia, it should gradually have spread until it included all Europe. The above divisions indicate the widening circles. From Bohemia it first extended over southern Germany (Bohemian-Palatine Period); then slowly, northern Germany and its

¹This famous act has invited much amused comment. The three men, thus summarily projected down a height of one hundred feet, arrived at the bottom shocked, but whole. The Catholic world never tired of crying miracle, while the Protestants prosaically explained the successful fall by a reference to the heaps of ancient refuse which littered the ground.

nearest Protestant neighbor caught fire (Danish Period); and finally, country upon country was moved to take part, until the war was no longer a German struggle at all, but assumed, first, the aspect of a general conflict between Protestantism and Catholicism, and secondly, the character of a struggle between the two great dynasties, Hapsburg and Bourbon, for the supremacy in Europe.

I. The Bohemian-Palatine Period.—The revolutionaries at Prague had hardly set up their government, when they appealed to the Protestant Union for help. This distracted body was never capable of resolute action, but it sent sufficient aid to permit a successful preliminary campaign against an unprepared enemy. In the midst of it (1619) the incapable Matthias died, and the Hapsburg dominions passed to a man of altogether different mould, Ferdinand II.

The Union
aids the Bo-
hemian rebels.

Ferdinand II. (1619–37), who had been brought up by the Jesuits, united with a narrow Catholic intolerance many incontestable Christian virtues and undeniable executive ability. He was acknowledged in all his dominions but Bohemia, and the electors of the Empire, although the electoral college was partly Protestant, so far accepted the time-honored ascendancy of the House of Hapsburg as to elect him emperor. Ferdinand felt that having gained so much, he must now undertake the recovery of Bohemia. He appealed to the Catholic League for help, and Maximilian of Bavaria, its president, readily granted it.

Ferdinand II.,
1619–37.

Appeals to the
League for
help.

Maximilian and Ferdinand had been brought up together under the same Jesuit influences, and from boyhood had been sincerely attached to each other and to their religion. Maximilian was even more active and more capable in a practical sense than Ferdinand, and so was doubly urged, by religion and by ambition, to lend his friend aid for the Bohemian enterprise. Moreover,

Maximilian of
Bavaria.

events had just taken a new turn. The Bohemian Protestants, in order to strengthen their hand, had elected Frederick, count palatine of the Rhine and head of the Protestant Union, king of Bohemia, and Maximilian, as head of the League, felt that he could not let his adversary assume this honor unchallenged.

The decisive
Bohemian
campaign.

In the year 1620, there followed the campaign which decided the fate of Bohemia. Frederick, the new king, proved utterly inadequate for his task.* The Protestant Union gave little help; the Lutheran elector of Saxony even joined the Catholics. At the battle of the White Hill, just outside of Prague, the united forces of the emperor and the League scattered the army of Frederick to the four winds, and drove Frederick¹ himself precipitately across Germany to the Netherlands. Ferdinand and his Jesuits immediately took possession of Bohemia and forced it back to Catholicism.

The war would now have been over if the Catholics had been contented with their first success. But urged on by Spain and the Jesuits, the emperor allowed himself to be hurried into a new and larger enterprise. He placed the defeated count palatine Frederick under the ban of the Empire, and commissioned Maximilian to occupy his territories, which straggled in loose array along southern Germany from the Rhine to Bohemia, and were known under the name of the Palatinate. Even the Lutherans, hitherto indifferent, became excited at this outrage, and a number of campaigns were necessary before Maximilian's troops could execute the imperial order.

And now a new danger arose. Protestants the world over had expressed their grief at the defeat of their co-

¹ Frederick is known under the derisive sobriquet of the Winter-king. He was monarch for a season only, and vanished at the coming of the spring.

* The Elector Frederick was of the
German faith, while the emperor
was Catholic, and this was a
large factor in the struggle.

The Palatin-
ate occupied
by the Cath-
olics.

religionists in Germany, while the European Catholics celebrated the emperor's victory as their own. Religion, it must be remembered, was still the dominant interest of the day. Thus Frederick's misfortunes gradually won him the sympathies of foreign Protestant monarchs, and especially of James I. of England, whose daughter Elizabeth¹ Frederick had married. But all the larger states which sympathized with Frederick were for the present restrained from giving help by difficulties of their own. James I. had begun that quarrel with his Parliament, which under his successor led to civil war, and annulled England's influence in continental affairs until the time of Cromwell. France, too, where Richelieu had just come to power (1624), was interested in sustaining Frederick against the House of Hapsburg, but had her hands full with the difficulties caused by the Huguenots. Again, in the Netherlands the twelve year's truce had come to an end (1621), and Spain had just renewed the war against her former subjects, while the leading Scandinavian power, Sweden, was engaged in fighting Russia and Poland. The only power, therefore, which, for the present, could be persuaded to interfere in behalf of the count palatine was Denmark.

The situation begins to interest the rest of Europe.

As things then stood, interference from some quarter or another was becoming absolutely necessary, if Protestantism in southern Germany was not to be given up as lost. For the emperor, rendered bold by the general European situation, favorable for the moment to Catholicism, had just taken another step, from which the full intention of the Jesuits who controlled him, could be easily inferred: he had given the electoral dignity and part of the territory of the banished Frederick to his Catholic ally, Maximilian, duke and henceforth elector of Bavaria (1623).

The emperor disposes of the Palatinate as if it were his.

¹ Frederick and Elizabeth are the ancestors of the present sovereigns of England (see genealogical chart).

II. The Danish War (1625-29).—In the year 1625, Christian IV., king of Denmark, having secured the promise of money-help from England, gave ear to the supplications of the Calvinistic wing of the German Protestants and placed himself at their head. The theatre of the war was thus immediately transferred from the south to the north.

The theatre transferred to the north.

Again the Catholics won a complete victory. The two Protestant armies which took the field, one under Christian IV., the other under the adventurer Mansfeld, were neither well disciplined nor well led. The two Catholic armies which operated against them were in every way their superiors. The first of these had been equipped by the Catholic League and was commanded by Tilly, the victor of the White Hill, while the second had only lately been got together by the personal activity of a Bohemian nobleman, one Wallenstein¹, who placed it at the service of the emperor.

The two Catholic armies of Tilly and Wallenstein.

This Wallenstein was destined to acquire a terrible reputation in Germany, for it was he who inaugurated that system of warfare which was soon imitated by others, and makes the Thirty Years' War a term of horror to this day. The emperor, owing to the exhaustion of his treasury, had hitherto waged the war primarily with the troops of the League. Wallenstein now proposed the bold plan of raising an army for him which should cost him nothing. His notion was convincingly simple; the army was to live by fines, confiscations, and rapine. Wallenstein's personal magnetism, his promise of large pay and plunder, soon furnished him with a numerous army of adventurers, who cared neither for Catholicism nor Protestantism, and blindly served their chief. Wherever this army passed, were it through land of friend or foe, it left a desert behind.

Wallenstein's methods.

¹ Wallenstein's real name was Waldstein. The wrong form has its justification in custom.

* For characterization of H. — see Hünner, H. 188.

A victory won by Wallenstein over Mansfeld, at the Bridge of Dessau (1626), and another won by Tilly over Christian IV. at Lutter (1626), proved decisive of the Danish fortunes. The armies of League and emperor invaded the peninsula of Jutland, and, though Christian continued to defend himself, he had finally to give way. In the year 1629 he was glad to sign the Peace of Lübeck with the emperor, upon terms which secured him his territories in return for the promise that he would not again interfere in the affairs of Germany.

Denmark
makes peace,
1629.

Even before the Peace of Lübeck was signed, Wallenstein had covered the whole Protestant north with his troops. His remarkable mind was nursing designs so vast and intricate that no historian even of our day can claim to have penetrated them. Probably their gist was to destroy the power of the German princes, to build up a strong united Germany under the emperor, with himself as a kind of mayor of the palace, and to make Germany a naval power. His successes were unchecked till he arrived at Stralsund, a port of the Baltic Sea. This city, although he vowed in his wrath he would have it, "even though it were fastened to heaven by chains of iron," he could not take, and was forced to retire. Next to herself, Stralsund owed her deliverance to the supplies, secretly contributed by a voluntary ally, Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden. This monarch had been for some time planning to interfere in the German war, but he was detained by a war which he had begun with Poland. While he was bringing this to a close and preparing to come in person to Germany, a number of events occurred there that greatly facilitated his projects.

Wallenstein's
plans.

First defeat at
Stralsund,
1629.

In spite of the slight check at Stralsund, the year 1629 marks the climax of the Catholic successes. The Peace of Lübeck had removed Denmark from the struggle; in the

The Edict of
Restitution,
1629.

length and breadth of Germany there was no army to resist the emperor; and Wallenstein and Tilly held both the north and the south. This triumphant situation persuaded Ferdinand II. to strike a decisive blow at the Protestant religion. He published (1629) the Edict of Restitution, by which the Protestants were ordered to give up all Church territories which had been taken into possession since the Peace of Augsburg (1555).^{*} As this affected two archbishoprics, nine bishoprics, and many monasteries, altogether a considerable fraction of German land, it will be understood why all Protestants, even the sluggish Lutherans, were seized with consternation. For a moment differences were forgotten, and all stood firm, ready to renew an opposition which seemed to have been broken by the tide of Catholic victory.

Dismissal of
Wallenstein.

Luckily for the Protestants, the emperor himself by his very next step frustrated his own policy. Wallenstein's savage warfare, above all, his imperial policy, which involved the ruin of the princes, Catholic and Protestant alike, had won him their united hatred. At the Diet of Ratisbon (Regensburg, 1630), they fiercely demanded his dismissal. The emperor hesitated for a moment, and then gave way. Wallenstein was forced to take leave of his army at the very moment when there gathered against Ferdinand the worst storm which had yet threatened.

Reasons for
the coming of
Gustavus
Adolphus

III. Swedish Period (1630-35).—Wallenstein's retirement occurred almost at the same time as the landing in Germany of an army of Swedes under Gustavus Adolphus. What were the motives of this Swedish king in thus intervening in German affairs? They can still be made out with perfect ease. First, he was certainly moved by self-interest. Sweden was a Baltic power and had been striving for some time to make of the Baltic a "Swedish lake." The wars which Gustavus Adolphus had directed against Russia and Poland were

was to be a ... as apply ... to the ...
as not to include ... or other ...

Also, that Ferdinand II's ...
giving religious liberty to the Protestants ...
... ecclesiastical princes ...
... subjects might be given ...
... Catholic ...

waged in obedience to this ambitious policy, and had practically secured Sweden the whole Baltic coast as far as Prussia. The attempt of Wallenstein to establish the emperor along the northern coast of Germany might certainly be conceived as a danger by a Swedish patriot, and Gustavus, frightened at Wallenstein's successes, gradually became convinced that the safety of his state depended upon the defeat of the House of Hapsburg. Secondly, he was an ardent Protestant, ready to risk a blow for a cause he loved. It is unnecessary to try to measure mathematically, as some historians have attempted to do, which of these two motives was dominant in his mind. Capable men, such as Gustavus, who combine ideal aspirations with a sense of the necessities and realities of power, always follow a line of action which delicately strikes the balance between a multitude of considerations. In any case, Gustavus came as a rescuing angel to the aid of a dying cause, and immediately gave to events that larger proportion, which lifted the brutal struggle of the religious parties momentarily to a higher plane. Everyone who follows the story of his intervention must feel that he merits the title he has won of the Protestant Hero.

Gustavus attempted, upon landing in Germany, to secure the alliance of the German princes. But this was no easy matter. They were glad enough to have his help, but they had legitimate scruples about contributing in person to the defeat of their emperor and handing over Germany to a foreigner. While Gustavus was still negotiating with them, aid came to him from another quarter. Richelieu had now mastered the Huguenots (fall of La Rochelle, 1628), and was determined, like Gustavus, to proceed vigorously against the Hapsburgs. Under the circumstances nothing was more natural than that France and Sweden should form an alliance, which was duly concluded in 1631, and which henceforth determined the course of the

Attitude of the
German
princes.

Alliance with
France.

war. For the present, however, the part of France was limited to a contribution of money to the Swedish treasury.

All this time Gustavus was in the north, waiting for the Protestant princes to join him. While they were still hesitating, fearful alike about the oppression of the emperor and the salvation promised by the king of Sweden, the army of the League, under Tilly, took, plundered, and utterly destroyed the great Protestant city of Magdeburg (1631). The horror of the terrible massacre (20,000 inhabitants were butchered by the soldiery) did more than persuasion, and threw the Protestants, and, above all, the greatest prince of the north, the elector of Saxony, upon the Swedish side. Having secured this important ally, Gustavus could now march south against Tilly without fear of an insurrection at his back. At Breitenfeld, near Leipsic, a great battle took place, in which Swedish generalship and discipline astonished the world by utterly defeating the veteran army of Tilly (September, 1631).

The victory of Breitenfeld laid all Germany at the feet of Gustavus. Never was there a more complete dramatic change. The Catholics, who, a year before, had held the reins in their hands, were now in exactly the same helpless position in which the Protestants had then found themselves. Gustavus, received everywhere with jubilation by the Protestants, whom he had delivered, marched without opposition, straight across Germany to the Rhine. The march was nothing less than a triumphal progress. But in spite of flattery Gustavus did not allow himself to be carried off his feet. However, during the idle hours of the winter-quarters on the Rhine, all kinds of plans crossed his mind; it is probable that he thought for a moment of making himself emperor of Protestant Germany.

The spring, and the work which it brought, scattered such dreams. Again taking the field he directed his forces

The sack of
Magdeburg,
1631.

The battle of
Breitenfeld,
1631.

Gustavus
becomes the
hero of Prot-
estant Ger-
many.

Occupies
Bavaria.

straight upon the country of his enemies. Triumph was added to triumph in the new campaign. At the river Lech, Tilly was defeated and killed, and shortly after, Munich, the Bavarian capital, fell into the hands of the Swedes. To the world at large it seemed as if Vienna was likewise doomed. In this terrible situation Ferdinand again turned to Wallenstein for help. That general, since his dismissal, had been sulking on his estates. When Ferdinand's ambassador now besought him for aid he affected indifference, but at length he allowed himself to be persuaded to collect an army, upon condition that his command be declared permanent and absolute. Then he floated his standards to the wind, and immediately the old veterans flocked around their beloved leader.

Wallenstein comes to the rescue.

In the summer of 1632 Wallenstein and Gustavus, the two greatest generals of their day, took the field against each other. After long futile manœuvring around Nuremberg, in which Wallenstein won some slight advantages, the two armies met for a decisive encounter at Lützen, not far from Leipsic (November, 1632). The armies of that day were not large; 20,000 Swedes confronted about as many Imperialists. After the Swedish army had knelt in prayer and the trumpeters had sounded the grand old hymn of Luther, "A Mighty Fortress is our God," Gustavus ordered the attack. The combat was long and fierce, but the Swedes won the day; they won, but at a terrible cost. In one of the charges of horse, the impetuosity of Gustavus had carried him too far into the ranks of the enemy, and he was surrounded and slain.

The battle of Lützen, November, 1632.

With the death of the king of Sweden, all higher interest vanishes from the war. His great achievement had been this: he had saved the cause of Protestantism in Germany, and perhaps, in the world—that is, he had saved a cause which, however repulsive in some of its manifesta-

Degeneration of the war on the death of Gustavus.

tions, was without doubt the cause of human freedom. But now, on Gustavus's death, the war lost its meaning. Adventurers, raising armies on their own account, robbed and murdered on zig-zag marches through Germany, and foreign powers interfered for their own greedy ends until the original question of religion was completely buried from sight.

Swedes
defeated at
Nördlingen,
1634.

For a few more years the Swedes, under various lieutenants, trained in the school of Gustavus, and under the political direction of the Chancellor Oxenstiern, who represented Gustavus's infant daughter, Queen Christine, tried to hold what had been won for them. But in 1634 they were defeated by the Imperialists, under the younger Ferdinand, the emperor's son, at Nördlingen, and had to give up southern Germany. Wallenstein was, at that time, no longer at the head of the imperial forces. Having fallen under the suspicion of treachery he was murdered by a band of conspirators at Eger, in Bohemia, just as he was making ready to betray his master to the Swedes (February, 1634).

Murder of
Wallenstein.

The emperor
desires peace.

The victory of the Imperialists at Nördlingen had two important consequences. First, it reëstablished the prestige of the emperor. Thereupon Ferdinand, who had at last learned a lesson in moderation, resolved to make peace with his Protestant subjects. He signed the Treaty of Prague with the elector of Saxony, in which he virtually withdrew the obnoxious Edict of Restitution (1635). But the concession came too late to end the German troubles. In fact, the decision between peace and war had imperceptibly passed out of the hands of the German princes, and now lay with those powers, who, through the faults of the Germans, had been drawn into Germany to take a hand in their struggles. At this very moment—and this is the second consequence of the emperor's victory at Nördlingen—the

most dangerous of all of Germany's enemies was preparing to interfere in the war. Richelieu, as we saw, had contented himself hitherto with supporting Sweden with money. But since the battle of Nördlingen proved that Sweden alone was no longer a match for the emperor, Richelieu now resolved on a more vigorous interference. In 1635 he declared war against the emperor and against Spain.

France enters
the war.

IV. French-Swedish Period, 1635-48.

From now on the war was the conflict of the House of Bourbon, allied in Germany with Sweden and in the Netherlands with the Dutch, against the Spanish and the Austrian branches of the House of Hapsburg; and the theatre of the struggle of these two dynasties for the leadership in Europe was the territory where their interests clashed—the Netherlands, Italy, and, of course, Germany. The Protestant princes, mere pigmies in this universal contest, sank more and more out of sight. If the war continued, it was not because of any interests of theirs, but because Richelieu was set upon reducing the Hapsburgs in the world, and would not retire until France and Sweden had gained a firm foothold in Germany.

Changed character of the
war.

The campaigns of this last period of the war consist, therefore, of a patient forward thrust across the Rhine into southern Germany, on the part of France, and a steady movement southward from the Baltic, on the part of Sweden. The emperor, aided by subsidies from Spain, but rarely by her troops (for Spain was engaged to the extent of her capacity in the Netherlands and Italy), made what resistance he could, while the Germans looked on, for the most part indifferent, weary to death of the long struggle, and unable to see any further meaning in it. Under these conditions, and especially after the great generals, Turenne and the prince of Condé, were put at the head of the French

The attack of
France and
Sweden.

The long
agony of
Germany.

troops, the emperor was steadily pushed back. Year in, year out, Germany was harried by fire and sword. The cities fell into decay, the country was deserted by the peasants. When the product of labor was sure to become the booty of marauders, nobody cared to work. So the people fell into idleness, were butchered, or died of hunger or of pestilence. The only profession which afforded security and a livelihood was that of the soldier, and soldier meant robber and murderer. Armies, therefore, became mere bands, organized for pillage, and marched up and down the country, followed by immense hordes of starved camp-followers, women and children, who hoped, in this way, to get a sustenance which they could not find at home.¹ Finally, defeat upon defeat brought the emperor to terms. Ferdinand II., who had begun the war, having died in the meantime, it was his son and successor, Ferdinand III. (1637-57), who put an end to the general misery by signing, after wearisome negotiations, a peace with all his enemies, called the Peace of Westphalia (1648).²

The end of the
war.

The Peace of Westphalia is, from the variety of matter which it treats, one of the most important documents in history. First, it determined what territorial compensation France and Sweden were to have in Germany for their victories over the emperor; secondly, it laid a new basis for the peace between Protestantism and Catholicism; and, thirdly, it authorized an important political readjustment of Germany. All these rubrics will be considered separately.

The main sub-
heads of the
Peace of
Westphalia.

As to the first rubric, Sweden received the western half of Pomerania, and the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden. By these possessions she was put in control

¹ "A body of 40,000 fighting men drew along with it a loathsome following of no less than 140,000 men, women, and children."—Gardiner.

² The cities of Münster and Osnabrück, where the plenipotentiaries met to negotiate this peace, lie in the Province of Westphalia.

of the mouths of the German rivers, the Oder, Elbe, and Weser, and therewith of a good part of the German shipping. France was confirmed in the possession of the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which she had acquired under Henry II. (1552), and received, in addition, Alsace, with the exception of the city of Strasburg and a few inconsiderable districts.

Cessions to
Sweden and to
France.

Under the second rubric, we note that the Peace of Augsburg was confirmed, and that the toleration there granted to the Lutherans was extended to the Calvinists. In regard to the bishoprics, which the Edict of Restitution^{*} had declared to be Catholic, the victory remained substantially with the Protestants, for the year 1624 was designated as "normal year," it being agreed that whatever land had been Protestant at that time should remain Protestant, and *vice versa*.

The religious
settlement.

Under the third rubric it is necessary to note a variety of political and territorial changes within Germany. First, the princes were given a number of new sovereign rights; among others, the right of forming alliances with each other, and with foreign powers. Therewith the decentralization of Germany was completed, and the single states legally declared as good as independent. Furthermore, the heir of the deposed elector and count palatine Frederick was reinstated in his father's Rhenish territories, and an eighth electorate created for him. And notably, the elector of Brandenburg received additions of territory, which made him not only the greatest Protestant prince, but the greatest prince altogether in Germany, after the emperor. Brandenburg, thus enlarged, was destined to grow into a kingdom (Prussia), and become in time the rival and conqueror of Austria, and the recreator of the German political unity of which the Peace of Westphalia made an end. As a last curious item, it may be added

Disruption
of Germany.

Growth of
Brandenburg.

* see p. 150

Switzerland
and the
Netherlands.

that Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands (Seven United Provinces), which had once been members of the Empire, but had long ago won a practical independence, were formally declared free from any obligations to that body.

Effect of the
war on Ger-
many.

Germany after her insufferable crisis lay insensible and exhausted. Perhaps the contemporary stories of the ruin done by the war are exaggerated,—in any case it is certain that Germany took more than a hundred years to recover from her disasters. In some respects, doubtless, she is only just now recovering from them. The simple fact is, that the material edifice of civilization, together with most of the moral and intellectual savings of an ancient society, had been destroyed, and that what was left was barbarism. The generation which survived the war had grown up without schools, almost without pastors and churches, and to its mental and moral bluntness it added, owing to the long rule of force, a disdain for all simple and honest occupations. Yet, if there was to be a recovery, it would have to result from long, conscientious labor in all departments of progress. Was the nation likely to appreciate this necessity? Figures, although the statistics of those days are uncertain, help us to realize the terrible situation. Augsburg, the great southern centre of trade, had had 80,000 inhabitants; the war reduced the city to a provincial town of 16,000. Whole districts were depopulated: in Brandenburg, one could travel days without meeting a peasant; in Saxony, bands of wolves took possession of the empty villages. Finally, the war left the Empire with a population of about 12,000,000—that is, with one-third the number it had once possessed.

The Peace of
Westphalia
closes the era
of religious
wars.

The Peace of Westphalia had also a European significance. It dealt with so many international affairs, that it may be said to have been, in a measure, a constitution of

Europe, and practically, it was the basis of European public law till the French Revolution. We may also take it to mark a turning point in the destinies of civilization. From the time of Luther the chief interest of Europe had been the question of religion. Europe was divided into two camps, Catholicism and Protestantism, which opposed each other with all their might. In the Peace of Westphalia, the two parties recorded what they had gradually been learning,—which was, that such a fight was futile, and that they would better learn to put up with each other. Almost imperceptibly men's *minds* had grown more tolerant, even if the *laws* were not always so, and this is, when all is said, the more satisfactory progress. The best proof of the improved state of the European mind toward the middle of the seventeenth century, is offered by the practical application of this very peace instrument. The toleration there granted was merely of the old kind—the toleration of the princes, but not of the individuals, expressed by the famous *cujus regio, ejus religio* (he who rules the country may settle its religion)—yet, persecution of individuals was henceforth the exception, and not the rule. It would be an exaggeration to say that the principle of toleration had now been conquered for humanity, or that the squabbles for religion's sake ceased in the world, but it may be asserted, without fear of contradiction, that toleration had won with the Peace of Westphalia a definite recognition among the upper and the cultured classes. During the next one hundred and fifty years, the principle filtrated gradually through the literary labor of many noble thinkers, to the lowest strata of society, and became in the era of the French Revolution a possession of all mankind. As early as the period of the Westphalian treaties, however, religion ceased to be the first interest of states, or the primary cause of their quarrels. That place was taken by

The principle
of toleration.

political interests ; in other words, governments concerned themselves primarily henceforth with problems of their own reconstruction or with territorial aggrandizement at the expense of their neighbors. A new period of European history had begun, which we call the period of absolutism and the dynastic wars.

PERIOD II

THE ERA OF ABSOLUTISM AND THE DYNASTIC WARS;
FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION (1648-1789).

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**Chs. VIII. & IX (secs. I. to VIII.).*

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. THE STUARTS,
THE PURITAN REVOLUTION, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY UNDER WILLIAM III. †

*Reign of James I., 1603-25.**

ELIZABETH was succeeded upon her death by the next heir to the crown, James I., the son of Mary Stuart. James, who was already king of Scotland, united in his person for the first time the sovereignty over the kingdoms constituting Great Britain. But it must be understood that the union of England and Scotland which the accession of James established, was for the present, merely what we may call a personal union ; that is, the accession of James gave the two countries a common sovereign, but not, as yet, common laws and institutions.

It was unfortunate that at a time when the character of the sovereign greatly influenced the government, such a man as James should have been on the throne. Physically he was anything but regal—a bent, shuffling figure, “a king of shreds and patches”—and morally he was totally devoid of force and fibre. But he had intelligence, or rather information, and his exhibition of a pedantic knowledge drew from Henry IV. of France the derisive compliment: “James I. is the wisest fool of Christendom.” All this might have made him harmless, if he had not had the most exaggerated idea of his office, and the obstinacy to insist upon that idea on all occasions. He formulated his

* Ransome's Hist. of England, B.K. VII., ch. I.
Hallam's Const. " " " " , ch. VI. ~~1789-1801~~
Hardiner's Puritan Revolution, pp. 7-49.

theory as follows: "As for the absolute prerogative of the crown, that is no subject for the tongue of a lawyer. It is atheism to dispute what God can do; so it is presumption in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that." Such a theory had been maintained in England by certain popular monarchs—Elizabeth herself had held no other—but how if the monarch were unpopular and systematically alienated his people?

The favorable condition of the kingdom.

see p. 88

James alienates the Puritans.

The accession of James occurred at a favorable moment. The defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588) had established the authority of England without. Within, the Catholics were a waning party, and the Anglican Church, which was alone recognized by the law (Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, 1559), had, under Elizabeth, acquired solidarity and respect. The Puritan party* within the Church, which inclined toward Calvinistic views, was by no means violent, and could be conciliated by a few concessions taking account of their aversion to the surplice, to genuflections, and similar externals of the service. The question was whether James would show the breadth of mind which the solution of this question demanded.

Shortly after his accession, in 1604, he called a conference at Hampton Court for the purpose of discussing with the Puritans the feasibility of Church innovations. Unfortunately he lost his temper on that occasion, and without cause, flared up against the Puritan ministers. He groundlessly denounced the Puritans as enemies of episcopacy, and pledged himself with undue emphasis to the support of that system of church government. "No bishop, no king," was the substance of his harangue. All this was very foolish; for, apart from the folly of making the maintenance of the monarchy depend on the maintenance of the bishops, it was impolitic to impute to the Puritans a programme which they had never supported, but which would

*See p. 89

Beginning
ch. IX, vol. I

{Also, Campbell's "The Puritans in Holland, England, & America" and Eggleston's "The Beginners of a"

Especially, read Green's & Short Hist. of the English People, ch. VIII. (Puritan England). and Bancroft's Hist. of the U. S. vol. I. ch. VIII (The Pilgrims).

from now on appear more and more attractive. Once more let us remember that the Puritans at this time were far from being revolutionary; that they accepted the Church of England and the principle of episcopacy; and that they demanded only a few liberties, chiefly respecting ceremonial non-essentials. It was, therefore, extremely unwise on the part of the king to dismiss the Puritan petitioners gruffly, and to order, shortly after this declaration, the removal from their livings of those of the clergy who refused to conform to every minute prescription of the Anglican service.

The Catholic party, too, had expected an alleviation of its position through James's accession. When it found that nothing was done to make its lot lighter, certain desperate men resolved upon vengeance. They deliberately planned to destroy the whole English government, king, Lords, and Commons, by one gigantic stroke. They heaped gunpowder in barrels in the Parliament cellars, and set November 5, 1605—the day of the opening in state of a new session—for the monstrous crime. Suspicion, however, had been awakened through a letter of warning, sent by a conspirator to a friend who was a member of the House of Lords; and luckily, on the very eve of the planned disaster, Guy Fawkes, the hardest of the conspirators, was discovered keeping watch among the explosives. He and his helpmates were arrested and executed, and the English people were once more confirmed in that intense hatred and distrust of the Catholic faith which long remained the first article of their religious and political programme. The gunpowder plot had the effect of attaching such extreme odium to the Catholic party that it greatly dwindled and may almost be left out of consideration in the future as an element of the population.

The gunpowder plot.

The troubles with the Puritans and Catholics were not the only difficulties which James's policy raised about him.

The rights of king and Parliament.

He managed also to quarrel with his Parliament. In the England of that time the rights of king and of Parliament were not accurately determined, and the king's prerogative was necessarily vague. It must be remembered that there was no written constitution, and that the legal basis for every political action was found in a mass of frequently conflicting customs and statutes. Under these circumstances a monarch could do a great many things which a Parliament might, on the ground of some ancient ordinance, dispute, but which a Parliament, if well-disposed in general toward the monarch, and if convinced that the particular act was wise, would not dispute.

The question
of who con-
trolled the na-
tion's purse

Now James's finances fell into disorder,—a sore matter with every government. Probably a little clever leading of Parliament would have brought that body around to a complete and wholesome reform of the finances, but James preferred in his high-handed and stupid way to order the levy of a number of questionable taxes on his own authority, and to trust to luck that Parliament would, after a little haggling, yield him the point. In this he was mistaken. Parliament after Parliament allowed itself to be dissolved rather than take his dictation in this matter. And what was the result? What originally had been merely a practical business question, was soon raised to a matter of principle, and the irritated Commons began to ask themselves if the king had a right to raise any kind of tax at all without their consent. In this way the question, who controlled the nation's purse, was definitely placed before the people, and an answer would have to be found sooner or later, whether by peaceful adjustment or by war.

Increasing se-
verity of the
Parliament.

James and his Parliaments, therefore, quarrelled throughout his reign, with the result of an increasing irritation on both sides. In the year 1621^{*} the spite of the Commons reached the point of a savage attack on the whole adminis-

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tration, the incident culminating in the famous impeachment of the Lord Chancellor, Francis Bacon. The great philosopher stood, by virtue of his office, near the king, and it was felt that a blow which struck the servant would not be lost upon the master. Evidence having been adduced that Bacon, the highest judge of the realm, had received fees which practically amounted to bribes, he was condemned to imprisonment and to a heavy money fine. James made no attempt to shield his minister from justice, but he honorably stepped in to preserve the greatest thinker of his time from the worst consequences of the verdict. There can be no doubt that Bacon was guilty of illegal practices, but, as he himself argued in his defence, they were the common custom of the day. And it may be asserted that these practices would not have met with condemnation if the Parliament had not desired a scapegoat to satisfy its deep irritation against the king. The trial of Bacon is symptomatic of a new attitude of the Parliament toward the king, and therein lies its constitutional importance.

The trial of
Bacon.

To his unpopularity James's foreign policy contributed. His one notion was peace. That was not bad in itself, but James contrived an impractical course. He tried to associate himself with Spain, arguing that an understanding between the leading Protestant and the leading Catholic power would secure peace to the world. Unfortunately the Spaniards only hoodwinked him, and the English became thoroughly disaffected by this policy of knuckling down to their ancient foe. Nevertheless the king persisted in his course. In 1618 he had Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the popular Elizabethan heroes, executed for venturing to attack a Spanish village in South America. And when, in that same year, the Thirty Years' War broke out in Germany, instead of assisting his son-in-law, Frederick of the Palatinate, who was elected king of Bohemia, he remained an

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indifferent spectator, in the hope that Spain would somehow kindly interfere in his relative's behalf. In the end his son-in-law was driven from Germany. But in spite of the fact that all the world was arming, James was still talking peace.

The journey
to Madrid.

In 1623 he resorted to a last measure to attach Spain to his policy. He sent his son Charles, under the direction of his favorite, the duke of Buckingham, to Madrid, to effect a union of the two royal houses in the form of a marriage between the Infanta, the sister of the Spanish king, and the heir of the English throne. Charles and Buckingham took the journey in a romantic disguise which suited their temper and their youth. But the exactions of the court of Madrid were such that they soon left in disgust. James thereupon did what he should have done long ago. He resolved to make war upon Spain, but died before anything had been done (1625).

English colo-
nization.

(a)
Ireland.

(b)
America.

It is a relief to turn from this chapter of mistaken efforts to the more productive field of James's colonial enterprises. In 1610 occurred the first settlement of Ulster, the north-eastern province of Ireland, with English and Scotch colonists. Before James's time Ireland had given to monarch after monarch nothing but trouble, and James hoped that his scheme of colonization would bring the unruly island under his control. However, in order to carry out his policy he had to confiscate the land^{*} and crowd the natives back into the marshes. This act of violence, which the Irish took to be nothing less than a crime, stamped an indelible hatred of the English in their souls. In the new world, another and an altogether more happy colonization was undertaken. In 1607 the first permanent English colony was planted in Virginia, and in 1620 the first band of Separatists, a party of radical Puritans, who had separated themselves from the Anglican Church and had at first taken refuge

** The land so confiscated was the
Province of Ulster.*

from persecution in Holland, set out across the Atlantic. From the valiant labors of themselves and their Puritan successors in the wilderness of Massachusetts developed in time a prosperous colony, and sprang the germs of that society which became the United States of America. Furthermore, in 1612, the East India Company, which had been chartered under Elizabeth, secured its first foothold in India. Thus, the victories of Elizabeth's reign having cleared the way, the Anglo-Saxon race planted under James the seeds of its expansion in the east and in the west, and laid the foundations of the English commercial supremacy of our day.

(c)
India.

*Reign of Charles I., 1625-49.**

Charles I., who succeeded James in the year 1625, was outwardly very unlike his father. His face, familiar to us from Van Dyck's frequent reproductions, was handsome, and his manner kingly. He was also intelligent and conscientious, but the trait of Stuart obstinacy in him spoiled all. Regarding the royal prerogative, he shared the views of his father, and believed, like James, that a Parliament ought not to be conciliated, but cowed.

Character of
Charles.

The two main difficulties created by James bore immediate and dangerous fruit in the new reign. James had roused the slumbering Puritanism of his subjects and had raised the question with his Parliament as to who controlled taxation. Charles, by persisting in James's course of hostility to Puritans and Parliament, succeeded, in an incredibly short time, in developing the prejudices of his people into a violent opposition to himself, and in rousing the Commons, who had been servilely docile under Elizabeth and, even while protesting, had been deeply respectful under James, to the point where they plainly put the question: who was sovereign in England, Parliament or king?

Struggle between Parlia-
ment and
king comes to
a head.

* *Ransome*, Book VII., chs. II., III.
Hallam, chs. VII., VIII., IX., X (part I.).
Gardiner (Pur. Rev.), pp. 60-160.
Macaulay, ——— vol. I., ch. I.

Charles falls out with the Commons in matters of religion.

In the very year of his accession, Charles married Henrietta Maria, a sister of Louis XIII. of France. This marriage with a Catholic was extremely unpopular in England. It was rendered doubly so by the fact that Charles had entered upon an agreement with Louis to offer the English Catholics his protection. Over this concession to a hostile faith the Parliament straightway flew into a passion. It grew still more excited when the fact became known that the king had lavished favors upon certain Anglican churchmen who had publicly attacked the Calvinistic doctrines then held by the majority of Englishmen.* There is no doubt that the king meant well enough, and certainly he was far from the thought of betraying the cause of Protestantism; but his religious liberalism bore the character of laxity in the minds of the severe believers of that day and aroused general suspicion. The Commons, in consequence, adopted an uncompromising Protestant policy. They began to lay more and more stress on those features of the Anglican Church which were emphatically Protestant, and less and less on those which had been retained from the Catholic establishment. Thus while the doctrines aroused their enthusiasm, they grew increasingly indifferent about the practices and ceremonies. From these latter, however, the king, who had a fondness for outward show, would abate no jot or tittle. Monarch and Commons, as a result, drifted farther and farther apart on questions of religion; and under the unconscious action of resentment, the people began falling away from their own ceremonial Anglican traditions and edging over to Puritan ground. Protestantism had only lately become the sovereign faith of England, and now a conflict was threatened in its bosom.

Charles falls out with his Parliament over the war with Spain.

Not satisfied with alienating his people by arousing their religious animosity, the king also alienated them by his political conduct. The war with Spain furnished

*See Hallam's Constl. Hist. of England, ch. VII., sec. 11, on the Arminian Controversy.

him the occasion. He had inherited it from his father, and was bent on carrying it on. The Parliament was not unwilling to give him support—for the war with Spain was popular—but to such grants of money as it made, it attached the condition that the war be carried on effectively and under good leaders. This condition Charles, to his misfortune, neglected. He intrusted the conduct of the war to the duke of Buckingham, once his father's favorite and now his own, and the duke of Buckingham, who was handsome and dashing, but unfit for weighty business, reaped nothing but disaster. Two expeditions, one directed against the Spanish Netherlands and the other against Cadiz, ended in utter failure. Thereupon, the Commons refused to give the king more money until the duke was removed from the council, and, as the king refused to allow himself to be dictated to in the matter of his ministers, there ensued a deadlock which Charles tried in vain to break by the repeated dissolution of Parliament.

In the year 1627 matters grew worse. The king, not content with one war upon his hands, allowed himself to be driven into a war with France, in behalf of the French Huguenots who were being besieged by Richelieu in La Rochelle. As the Huguenots were hard pressed, and there was no other way of getting money for a rescuing expedition, Charles adopted a perilous device: he forced the rich to make him a loan. But the sums thus illegally extorted brought no blessing. A relief expedition, which sailed for Rochelle under Buckingham, failed as miserably as the attack upon Cadiz. As a result, ignominy in the war with France was added to the ignominy already incurred in the war with Spain.

Buckingham
and the war
with France.

The Parliament which met in 1628 was therefore justified in its outbreak of wrath against the Government. Before granting another penny it insisted that the grievances of the

The Petition
of Right.

nation be redressed. In a document called the Petition of Right^{*}, it made a formal assertion of its claims. The Petition of Right declared forced loans illegal, and maintained that no tax whatever could be levied without the consent of Parliament. Further, it condemned a number of practices, such as arbitrary arrests and billeting of troops upon householders, in which the king had lately indulged as if they were a part of his royal prerogative. The Petition of Right was firmly announced to be a prerequisite to all further concessions by the Parliament. Charles, who had two wars on his hands and no money, had to give way. The Petition of Right, celebrated as a renewal of Magna Charta, was accepted and became the law of the land (1628).

Murder of
Buckingham,
1628.

However, the Petition of Right did not dispose of the internal troubles. The obnoxious Buckingham was not dismissed; the excitement, which had permeated all classes, did not subside. Proof of the degree of hatred which the party strife had reached was offered soon enough. While a new expedition to Rochelle was fitting at Portsmouth, a fanatic patriot, John Felton by name, stabbed the duke of Buckingham to death (1628). The king grieved over the loss of his favorite, but his policy remained obstinately unchanged. And this at a moment when a struggle was threatening with his Parliament greater than any that had preceded!

Tunnage and
Poundage.

It was the practice in England to vote certain customs duties, called Tunnage and Poundage, at the beginning of a reign, for the duration of the king's life. These formed the most considerable income of the treasury, and without them the government could not be carried on. By an oversight, the Commons had not voted Tunnage and Poundage for the life of Charles, and now that they had a grievance against him, they resolved not to vote this tax until they had received in return fresh assurances of good

**See Hallam's Constl. Hist. of Eng.,
(Students' Edn.) Note to ch. VII.
Gardiner, Constl. Docs. of the Pur. Rev.*

government. Charles grew highly excited over their conduct, which to him seemed mere bickering, and in the session of 1629 the conflict between king and Commons broke out anew. After a few unfruitful negotiations, Charles determined to dissolve Parliament; but the members getting wind of it, passed, before the adjournment, amidst a scene unparalleled for excitement in English Parliamentary annals, a number of resolutions, affirming that the levy of Tunnage and Poundage was illegal and that whosoever paid it was a traitor.*

The crisis of 1629.

Thus over the question of Tunnage and Poundage, war was virtually declared between king and Parliament. The long rivalry of the two parties left little hope of an amicable adjustment between them. One or the other, king or Parliament, therefore, was likely to win, and whichever won would be the real ruler of England.

Definite breach between king and Parliament.

For the next eleven years (1629-40) the king had the upper hand. The extensive prerogative acquired by his predecessors gave him at first a distinct advantage over the ambitious Commons. Among other privileges, he was not obliged to assemble Parliament at all, unless he wanted a new subsidy, and as anything was better than having Parliament again, he now resolved to get along with the revenues he had. But this plan necessitated economy, and, above all, the termination of the expensive wars with France and Spain. Before the end of 1630, therefore, Charles had made his peace with these two powers. His outlook now was, on the whole, exceedingly hopeful. Tunnage and Poundage, although condemned by the Commons, was regularly paid into the exchequer by a people who were not yet ready to renounce their king, and Tunnage and Poundage, taken together with a number of other taxes which had been regularly provided, were found quite sufficient for the ordinary expenses of the administration.

Eleven years of rule without Parliament.

**Ransome's Hist. of Eng.*, p. 519.

Wentworth
and Laud.

Charles's chief advisers during the eleven years' interlude of practically absolute government were Thomas Wentworth, better known by his later title of earl of Strafford, and William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury. As the king's person was still regarded with the old sacred respect, all the violences committed in Church and state during the period of rule without a Parliament were laid at the door of these two men. Them and not the king the people held to be responsible for this unwelcome reign of "thorough," and directed against them, as the years came and went without a Parliament, a blind passion of hatred.

Laud's
Church
policy.

Laud stood for the tendency in the English Church which emphasized dignity and ceremony—the same tendency with which the king had already identified himself. In fact, it was because of his own love of ceremony and uniformity that the king had bestowed his favor upon the inflexible and earnest Churchman, and had rapidly promoted him from post to post. Finally, in the year 1633, Charles appointed Laud archbishop of Canterbury and primate of all England. Therewith Laud was in a position to put his and the king's ecclesiastical convictions into practice. By means of parochial visitations and other measures, he soon imposed upon all ministers of the Church a strict adherence to the forms of the Prayer Book, and did not even hesitate to introduce a few new ceremonial innovations on his own authority. Thus the communion table was surrounded by an iron railing, giving the chancel something of the appearance of a Catholic altar. As a result, the Puritan ministers either resigned or were dismissed, and the Puritan element of the population was practically ejected from the Church. Even those Englishmen who submitted to the new régime hated the unwisdom which thus drove a wedge into the Christian body.

Wentworth was a man of far greater intellectual powers

than either Laud or Charles. His position in public life seems to have been grounded on the honest conviction that a king who governs well is better than a babbling, distraught Parliament. Doubtless, therefore, being one of Charles's favorite advisers, he urged the king to take a firm stand against Parliament and people, but it is quite erroneous to make him responsible for all the ill-advised measures which followed the dissolution of 1629. For as early as 1633[↓] he was sent as Lord-Deputy to Ireland, and could thenceforth exercise only an indirect influence on English affairs.

The character of Wentworth.

Certainly Wentworth cannot^{*} be charged with the great blunder committed in connection with ship-money. Ship-money was a tax collected by Charles in the year 1634, for the purpose of creating a navy. The ordinary method of getting supplies for such an end would have been to appeal to Parliament. That the king shrank from doing. So he hit upon a subterfuge. In former times monarchs had, when the country was in danger, ordered the counties bordering on the sea to furnish ships. Charles reënacted this statute in the year 1634, with a certain show of legality; but in the year 1635, utterly regardless of legality, he ordered the inland counties to contribute money to the same end.

The ship-money ordinances of 1634 and 1635.

Plainly, Charles's process in the matter of ship-money was a breach of the Petition of Right. More than that, it ran counter to the most ancient privileges of Parliament and the whole spirit of English history. The protest against the royal exaction was therefore general, and when a country gentleman, John Hampden by name, preferred, rather than pay his assessment, to suffer arrest and trial, he made himself the hero of the hour. The court, when the case came up, decided against Hampden, but so wide was the disaffection following upon Hampden's trial that it re-

The case of Hampden, 1637.

* See Ransome's *Hist. of Eng.*, f. 529, for a contrary opinion.
[↓] The same year that Laud was made
 a peer of the realm (1633).

quired only an occasion and England would show that the loyalty which had bound her for ages to her royal house, had suffered fatal impairment.

Charles falls
out with the
Scots.

That occasion was furnished by Scotland. In the year 1637, Charles, with his usual neglect of popular feeling, ventured to introduce into Presbyterian Scotland the Prayer Book and certain of the Episcopal practices of England. The answer of the Scots to this measure was to rise in insurrection. They drew up a national oath or Covenant, by which they pledged themselves to resist to the utmost all attempts at changing their religion. Their unanimity and enthusiasm gave them an irresistible power. In view of it Charles hesitated; then to gain time he proposed negotiations; but finally, when he found there was nothing left to do but to submit or fight, he declared war.

The First
Bishops' War,
1639.

There follows the campaign of 1639 against the Scotch Covenanters, which is known as the First Bishops' War. It was a miserable fiasco. Owing to want of funds, the king led northward a mere ill-equipped rabble, and when he arrived upon the scene, found himself compelled to sign a truce. Between his Scotch and English subjects, whom he had alike alienated, his position was now thoroughly humiliating. In order to avenge himself upon the Scots, he required effective money help from England, and effective money help from England involved calling a Parliament. In one or the other direction he had, therefore, to make concessions. Charles fought a hard battle with his pride, but finally, feeling that the Scotch matter was the more pressing, he summoned a Parliament (1640).

The Second
Bishops' War,
1640.

Thus the long period of government without a Parliament had come to an end. When, however, the Parliament, known as the Short Parliament, began, instead of voting" moneys, to remind the king of the nation's grievances, Charles flamed up once more and dismissed it.

Once more, in despite of his lack of funds, he conducted a campaign, known as the Second Bishops' War, against the Covenanters (1640). But when the second experiment had failed as badly as the first, he had to acknowledge himself finally beaten.

In the autumn of 1640 he summoned another Parliament, which he knew he should not be able to send home at his will. The Parliament which met has received from history the name of the Long Parliament, and is the most famous legislative body in English annals.* It sat for almost two decades, witnessing, and itself initiating, the transformation of England.

The Long Parliament, 1640.

The Long Parliament took, as soon as it was installed, the reins into its hands. First the past had to be avenged. Accordingly Strafford and Laud were impeached and executed.¹ Next every institution (*e.g.*, the court of Star Chamber) which had proved irksome, every tax (*e.g.*, ship-money) which the king had made serve his despotic ends, was abolished.* Thus the whole constitution was practically remodelled; Parliament declared everything, the king nothing. It was the Parliament's answer to the king's despotic rule. Could a king of Charles's temperament submit for long to such a terrible abasement?

The victory of the Commons.

For a year the king bore with the altered circumstances. But he was watching for his chance, and the first division among the Commons was his signal to strike. The Commons had agreed admirably on all the political questions at issue between themselves and the king. Differences appeared only when the religious question was presented.

Division in the Commons.

The sentiment against the Episcopal system had made

¹ The technical proceeding against Strafford was not called an impeachment, but a bill of attainder. He was executed, in spite of Charles's promise to protect him, May, 1641. "Put not your trust in princes," were his last words. Laud was not executed until 1645.

* For its leaders, see Ransome, *f.* 539.

For a summary of the good deeds of the Long Parliament, see Hallam, *secs.* 1, 2, & 3 (*d.*).

Charles sides with the Episcopalians.

a great deal of progress of late years, but a strong conservative element still supported it. Under the circumstances Puritans and Episcopalians in the Commons frequently came to hard words, and naturally, as soon as this opening in the hitherto solid phalanx of the opposition was apparent, Charles took advantage of it. He threw in his lot with the Episcopalians, and so once more rallied about him a party.

Attempted arrest of the five members.

In January, 1642, he calculated that he was strong enough to strike a blow at the predominance of Parliament, and attempted to arrest the five leaders, Pym, Hampden, Hazlerigg, Holles, and Strode, in full Parliamentary session. But the attempt failed, and Charles, always a little timorous, had not the courage to brave the situation which he had himself created. When London rose in arms Charles fled to York.

The king unfurls his banner at Nottingham.

Thus the two questions of Puritanism and of taxation in which the king had taken sides against the majority of his subjects, led to civil war. In August, 1642, Charles, unfurling his banner at Nottingham, bade all loyal Englishmen rally to their king. The Parliament in its turn gathered an army and prepared to take the field.

The advantage is, at first, with the king.

The parties about to engage each other seemed to be very equally matched.* The king's party, called the Cavaliers, held the north and the west, York and Oxford being their chief towns, while the adherents of the Parliament, known derisively as Roundheads, for the reason that many of them cropped their hair close, held the south and the east, with London for their centre. Neither side was well furnished with troops, but the fact that the slashing country gentlemen crowded into the king's service gave the royal side, at first, the advantage. In the early campaigns the army of the Parliament was steadily driven back, and on one occasion London, the Parlia-

* *Ransome, pp. 556-7.*

mentary centre, almost fell into the king's hands. It was really not until the year 1644 that the Parliament began to develop an efficient army. At the same time there rose into prominence the man who was destined to turn the tables on the king and bring the war to a conclusion—
Oliver Cromwell.

Oliver Cromwell^{*} is one of those surprising characters who sum up in themselves a whole period of their nation's history. He was a country gentleman of the east of England, whose life had become bound up in the Puritan cause. With firmness and strength, he coupled an extraordinary amount of practical good sense, which enabled him to see things exactly as they were. When everybody else was in consternation over the victories of the king, and undecided what to do next, he went straight to the core of the military problem, with which the Parliament was vainly wrestling. He thus expressed himself to Hampden: "Your troops are, most of them, old, decayed serving men and tapsters. . . . Their troops are gentlemen. Do you think that the spirit of such base fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen? You must get men of spirit or else you will be beaten still." His practical eye had seen the thing needful, and his practical sense urged him to do it, unmindful whether the babbling Parliament supported him or not. Gradually he collected about himself a special troop of men of his own mind—Puritans who had their hearts in the cause; and this troop soon won for itself the grim title of Cromwell's Ironsides.

In the campaign of 1644 Cromwell's Ironsides first prominently showed their metal. They contributed largely to the great victory of Marston Moor over Prince Rupert,¹

¹ Prince Rupert, known as Rupert of the Rhine, was the son of Elizabeth, the daughter of James, who had married Frederick of the Palatinate.

** See foot-note references, p. 187.*

the king's nephew and the dashing leader of his horse. The battle of Marston Moor lost the king his hold upon the north. At the battle of Newbury, which took place a few months later, it is probable that the king would have been crushed entirely if Cromwell had not been thwarted by his sluggish and incapable superiors.

The army reforms.

That winter Cromwell fiercely denounced in Parliament the lax method of carrying on war which had hitherto prevailed, and so convincing were his criticisms that the Commons now carried out a number of sweeping reforms. By means of two ordinances, called the Self-denying Ordinance and the New Model, the army was completely reorganized. By the Self-denying Ordinance the incapable Parliamentarians gave up the commands they held to trained officers, and by the New Model the spirit of Cromwell's Ironsides was introduced into the whole army. The spring of 1645 found Sir Thomas Fairfax at the head of the reformed forces and Cromwell in command of the horse.

The decisive campaign of 1645. Naseby.

The effect of the change made itself felt at once; the campaign of 1645 proved decisive. At Naseby, in the heart of England, the king made his last formidable effort (June 14). The gallant Rupert plunged, as usual, through the squadrons of horse opposite him, but his reckless pursuit took him miles away from the battle-field, and before he could return, Cromwell had broken the king's left and centre and won the day. For almost a year the king still held out, vainly hoping relief from this or that small circumstance. In May, 1646, judging that all was over, he surrendered to the Scots, who occupied the English north.

Alliance between Scots and Parliament.

The Scots had joined the English Parliament against the king in the year 1643. They had treated the first suggestions of alliance with indifference, and when they finally consented to join the English, they made a very hard condition.* They demanded that their own Presbyterian system of

* For the terms of that condition, see Hallam, pp. 309-11: the adoption of the Solemn League & Covenant.

church government be also established in England.* The stiff Puritan opinion in the Parliament revolted at first at the thought of a foreign dictation, but as the majority were well disposed to the Presbyterian system, and the danger from the king was pressing, the alliance between Scots and Parliament was formally approved on the proposed basis.

However, a handful of commoners standing for religious tolerance protested against the treaty to the last. To them the uniformity of belief enforced by the Presbyterian Kirk was exactly as hateful as the uniformity of service demanded by the Anglican Church. But being a mere handful, they would have been overridden without a word if they had not received support from a very important quarter: their religious views had the approval of Cromwell and his Ironsides. Under the circumstances the majority was obliged to proceed with caution, especially while the war continued and the troops had to be kept in good-humor. Thus the contention slumbered for a time, but as soon as the battle of Naseby had been won and the enemy scattered, the quarrel between the Presbyterians and the Independents, as the advocates of tolerance were called, assumed a more serious aspect.

Presbyterians and Independents.

When the king surrendered to the Scots he was well informed of these differences of opinion among the victors, and hoped, in his small-minded way, to find his profit in them. Let the army, representing the Independents and their view of tolerance, only fall to quarrelling with the majority of the Parliament, representing the Presbyterians and their uncompromising system of uniformity, and his, the king's, alliance would prove invaluable.

The calculation of the king.

Herein Charles calculated both well and ill. In the year 1647 the Scots surrendered him,† on the payment of a good price, to the Parliament. The Presbyterians thereupon, having him in their power, tried to hurry through a

The Parliament offends the army.

* which was ^{legally completed} ~~done~~ in Feb., 1646:

See Hallam, pp. 324-25.

† This is discussed by Hallam, p. 323.

settlement with the captive monarch. Utterly neglectful of the wishes of the army, they promised Charles to restore him if he would only give his royal assent to the Presbyterian Establishment.* But as soon as the army heard of these secret and dishonest machinations of the parliamentary majority, it was filled with indignation and rose to defeat them by force of arms (1648). So far Charles had calculated well. Largely through his own clever policy of delay, a new civil war had broken out among his enemies.

The second
civil war,
1648.

In the result, however, Charles's petty calculations shot wide of the mark. Although the Parliament was supported by the Presbyterian Scots and by bands of hastily organized royalists, it was no match for the victors of Naseby. In a few weeks Fairfax and Cromwell had laid their enemies at their feet.

Pride's purge,
1648.

Then the army returned to London to have vengeance upon what it called the bloody authors of the struggle, the Presbyterian majority of the Commons and the king. On December 6, 1648, a troop under the command of Colonel Pride expelled the Presbyterian members, to the number of about one hundred, from the House. No more than fifty or sixty commoners retained their seats, and these were the mere tools of the army. Of course they considered themselves as good as any English legislative body that had ever sat, but the people fixed upon them the contemptuous term of the Rump Parliament.

The execution
of the king,
January 30,
1649.

Next the army turned upon the king, firmly resolved to subject him to a trial. As there were no legal provisions in the constitution for such a step, it became necessary to resort to illegality, and by an act of the now servile Parliament there was created a special High Court of Justice to try the king. The end, of course, was to be foreseen. The army, with Cromwell at its head, would not have proceeded to such extremes of violence if it had not been

* Thereupon, the Army took Charles out of the hands of the Parliament, and itself submitted to the King's trial. Head, D. C. "The King's Trial." See R. C. M. P. 579.

profoundly convinced that with this king, whose every act was a subterfuge, whose every word an equivocation, there could be no peace. The High Court of Justice found the king guilty of treason, and on January 30, 1649, he was executed on a scaffold before his own palace of Whitehall. He had never been shaken in the conviction that the right, during the whole course of the civil war, had been with him, and he died bravely in that belief.

The king's death had been preceded by the dissolution of the House of Lords because of the refusal of that body to take the army's side. The English constitution, therefore, was now a wreck; the king and Lords had disappeared, the Commons were a fragment. The power lay solely with the army, and the burning question of the day was: Would the revolutionists of the army be able to build a new constitution along new lines?

The break-down of the constitution.

For eleven years the leaders of the army attempted to realize their ideal of government. That ideal was born of the deep religious conviction that every man must indeed be a Christian, but that he must be allowed to worship God after his own fashion. In consequence, Cromwell and his friends desired a government of upright Puritan men, who tolerated every belief but Popery. Unfortunately the vast majority of contemporary Englishmen were royalists or Presbyterians and abominated the men in power. The experiment of a Puritan government, therefore, had sooner or later to end in failure.

The main idea of the Puritan revolutionists.

*The Commonwealth and the Protectorate, 1649-60.**

On the death of the king, the Rump Parliament voted that England was a Commonwealth, and appointed, provisionally, a Council of State to act as the executive branch of the government.

The Commonwealth.

There was work enough ahead for the young Republic.

* Ransome, *Books VII.*, ch. IV.
Hallam, *Ch. X (Part II.)*.
Gardiner, pp. 160-198.
Macaulay, *vol. I.*, ch. I.

Cromwell subduces Ireland (1649) and Scotland (1651).

In Ireland and Scotland Charles II. had been proclaimed king. The Council of State insisting that these kingdoms should not be allowed to go a separate way in politics, Cromwell was despatched against them. In 1649 he brought the Irish to terms by means of bloody massacres at Drogheda and Wexford. Then a rule of force was established such as even Ireland had not seen before, and a great part of the land was confiscated for the benefit of the conquerors. This done, the victor turned to Scotland. At Dunbar (1650) Cromwell's soldiers, whose tempers were like the steel with which they smote, scattered one Scotch army; and when a second army, with Charles II. in its midst, struck across the border in the hope of stirring up an English rebellion, Cromwell starting in pursuit met it at Worcester, in the heart of England, and won the crowning victory of his life (1651). Charles II. escaped, after various romantic adventures, to the Continent; but the Scots came to terms, and thus the authority of the Commonwealth was established throughout Great Britain and Ireland.

Dismissal of the Rump Parliament, 1653.

Now that England had peace, the question of a permanent government became more pressing. Everybody clamored for a settlement.* Only the Rump Parliament was in no hurry, and the fifty or sixty members who composed it clung to office, finding power a delightful thing. Naturally, practical men, like Cromwell and his soldiers, watched the delays of the legislators with growing impatience. In April, 1653, the great leader, despairing of good through such a Parliament, resolved to have done with it. He invaded the Parliament with a detachment of troops and ordered the members home. "Come, come," he shouted in indignation, "we have had enough of this. It is not fit you should sit here any longer." Thus the last fragment of the old constitution had vanished.

A new Parliament, freely elected by the nation, would

* Sir Henry Vane brought in a Reform Bill (like to that of 1832), but it was simply discussed, not passed.

have been one solution of the difficulties which now confronted Cromwell. But such a Parliament would immediately have called back the king, and Cromwell was ready to try all other means before he declared that the great cause, which to his fervid mind was also that of God, had failed. He therefore nominated an assembly of Puritan partisans to *act* as Parliament. In an opening speech he told them that they were called because they were godly men. But although they doubtlessly meant well, they were inexperienced and crotchety. The people refusing to take them other than humorously, derisively called them Barebones' Parliament, from one Praise-God Barebones who sat among them. Luckily, after a few weeks the nominees recognized their own unfitness and resigned (December, 1653).

Some government had to fill up the gap, and so Oliver Cromwell now accepted a constitution, called the Instrument of Government*, which was drawn up by his officers, and which named him Lord Protector. By the Instrument of Government, Oliver, the Lord Protector, together with a Council of State, was to exercise the executive, while a Parliament of a single house, from which all partisans of the king were excluded, was to perform the legislative functions of government. The new attempt came nearer than any of the others to being a solution of the political difficulties into which England had been plunged; but, unfortunately, even this partial success was due solely to the fact that the new constitution practically placed in control an entirely efficient man.

The five years (1653-58) of Oliver's rule as Protector were, however, full of difficulties. His first Parliament insisted on revising the Instrument of Government. As that was tantamount to calling the whole settlement in question, Oliver dissolved the Parliament in anger (January,

(cont'd. from oppo.)
also, a complete
Parliamentary union
with Scotland & Ireland.
Barebones' Parliament, 1653.

Oliver, Protector.

any other support
than the clergy.

* Gardiner, p. 568.
Ransome, p. 600.

+ e.g., the majority would have abolished the Court of Chancery, without finding a substitute.

would tell Parl. next, referring to Chancery, retaining it, but
not by Commons & Lords & Judges, regarding any measure for abolishing it.

The Protectorate is internally a failure.

* On Nov. 27 (55), Oliver divided England into 10 military districts, placing a major general over each. The 10. He were to keep order & select a 10% tax from royalists.

England refuses to accept toleration.

The Protectorate a success abroad.

1655). For a while now he ruled without a Parliament. There were frequent attempts upon his life, republican conspiracies, royalist risings, the cares and annoyances inseparable from power. Oliver confessed with sorrow that "it was easier to keep sheep than to govern men." But his brave spirit was undaunted and he met every difficulty as it arose. As it was better to rule with the nation than without, he called a second Parliament in the year 1656, and with this he got along more smoothly for a while. The traditional English conservatism governed this assembly, and it tried to get back upon the lines of the old constitution. It even offered to make Oliver king. But he declined the honor without regret, and when the old difficulties sprang up again, owing to the tendency of the Parliament to meddle with the Instrument of Government, Oliver reproachfully dissolved it like its predecessor (February, 1658).

In all this time the great principle of toleration for which Oliver stood had made no progress. Oliver's idea had been to give all Protestant Christians, whether they were Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Puritans, the protection of the law. But the fierce religious temper of the time hindered the majority from seeing any right outside of their own faith, or feeling any obligation to put up with any other. Oliver, like all men who are ahead of their time, was left without support. The animosities of his antagonists, as well as of his followers, even forced him before long to trench upon his own principles. In 1655 he began persecuting those who held to the Book of Common Prayer, and long before his end he had the bitter conviction that the government of the Puritan Commonwealth rested on no single principle that had taken root in the nation, and that it lived entirely by the will and vigor of one man.

If Oliver was thus reaping failure at home, he added triumph to triumph abroad. From 1652 to 1654 there had

* The author here refers to the "Humble Petition and Advice" tendered to Cromwell by Parliament in May, 1657. See Hallam, p. 354-5; Gardiner, p. 572.

been a war with the Dutch caused by the famous Navigation Act. The Dutch had in the seventeenth century got the carrying trade of the world into their hands; by means of the Navigation Act (1651) the Parliament planned to bring part of it to England. The Act ordained that imported goods be carried in English ships, or else in ships belonging to the country in which the goods were produced. The Dutch declared war rather than suffer this injury, and under their admiral Van Tromp won a number of victories. But the great English admiral, Blake, restored the English prestige, and finally the Dutch had to accept what they could not alter.

The first Dutch war.

Soon after Oliver entered into an alliance with France (1655) against Spain. Jamaica, in the West Indies, was taken from Spain by an English fleet, and Dunkirk,¹ in the Spanish Netherlands, after a French-English victory over the Spaniards on the Dunes, was surrendered to Cromwell's representatives. Since the days of Elizabeth, the name of England had not enjoyed such respect as it did now. Oliver's arm reached even to the Alps, and at his command the duke of Savoy ceased from persecuting his Protestant subjects.

War with Spain.

Thus to the end the Protector held the rudder firmly. But his health was broken by his great responsibility, and on the third day of September, 1658, shortly after a great storm had swept over the island, he passed away.* It had been his "fortunate day"—that was his own word—the day of his birth and of the great victories of Dunbar and Worcester; and now, it was the day too of his death. His last prayer, in which breathes all his Christian fervor, all his honesty and charity, has been recorded for us. "Lord," ran a part of it, "Thou hast made me, though very

The death of the Protector, September 3, 1658.

¹ Dunkirk was held only till 1662, when Charles II. sold it to France.

*See Gardiner's "Cromwell's Place in History". Also — Morley, Oliver Cromwell, Carlyle's Life and Letters of Cromwell.

unworthy, a mean instrument to do Thy people some good. . . . Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too."

Anarchy.

Cromwell's death was followed by a year of pure anarchy. As a genuinely popular government, supporting itself upon the will of the majority, had never existed, the republic may be said to have passed away with the man who made it. For awhile, however, Richard Cromwell, Oliver's commonplace son, ruled as Protector (to April, 1659); then the soldiers tried their talents; and finally, even the Long Parliament appeared again upon the scene. Clearly, after all these shifts, Charles II. was the only choice left; it was but necessary that some strong man should act in the absent king's behalf and order would be restored. The strong man was found in General George Monk. Monk, one of Cromwell's most capable lieutenants, refusing to close his eyes longer to the real situation, determined to promote the restoration of the Stuarts and the reinvigoration of the old constitution. Charles II. was merely asked to promise a general pardon. This Charles did in a declaration¹ made at Breda, in Holland, and when, a month later, he landed at Dover (May, 1660), he was received with universal shouts of welcome. Some days before a new Parliament had formally restored the ancient constitution. It voted that "the government is, and ought to be, by king, Lords and Commons."

The Restoration, May, 1660.

In this Dec. (1660) Charles II. promised to secure and maintain the liberties of his subjects, to call the Parliament, to be held at Westminster, on the 2nd of May, 1661, and to grant them the same liberties as were enjoyed by their ancestors.

The Restoration is a change in life and manners.

The Restoration. Charles II. (1660-85) and James II. (1685-88).*

Charles II. was one of the most popular monarchs England ever had; but his popularity was due not so much to his talents as to his vices. To understand this we must

¹ His general pardon was later ratified by Parliament, only the regicides (members of the court which had condemned Charles I.) being excluded

* Ransome, Books VII., ch. V.
Hallam, chs. XI., XII., XIII.
Gardiner, pp. 198-211.
Macaulay, beginning with ch. II.

(joined by Fairfax)

remember that the Restoration is a complex movement. It marks not merely the break-down of the Puritan experiment of government, but also a revulsion from the severe and colorless scheme of life which the Puritans imposed upon society. Like one who had thirsted a long while, the Englishman of the Restoration, therefore, threw himself greedily upon splendor and distractions. Now Charles II. had lived long in France, and there his light nature had drunk its fill of the gayety and licentiousness which were then the reigning influences in the country of Louis XIV. Upon his restoration, Charles naturally became the apostle of French manners in England, and it was largely under his patronage that English life assumed a frivolous character. Profligacy soon became the fashion of the day, and the king added to his constitutional function of sovereign the social function of master of the revels. It was because of this, and because he was witty and amiable, in short, a good fellow, that he was popular. His subjects called him "The Merry Monarch."

Charles had a good deal of intelligence, but no energy. In the end his resolutions inevitably succumbed to his indolence. His pleasures went before everything else, and when a conflict threatened with his subjects, he was in the habit of giving way, with the joke, that, whatever happened, he did not care to go again upon his travels. So weak-kneed a monarch was not likely to imperil the Restoration.

Political incapacity of Charles.

Now that the monarchy was restored, it was as if the revolution had not taken place, for the constitutional questions at issue between king and Parliament were left exactly

The constitutional questions buried temporarily.

from it. Thirteen of these were executed. The Restoration further sullied its beginnings by a mean vengeance upon the body of a great man. The dead Oliver, whom living no royalist had dared to confront, was dragged from his tomb at Westminster Abbey and hanged like a thief at Tyburn.

*For the
King's Pro-
clamation
of Oct., 1660,
relative to
ecclesiastical
matters, see
Hallam, p. 356
(St. 12.3).*

The Cavalier
Parliament.

*[Edward
Hyde, Lord
Clarendon,
antipathetic
to the
Cavalier
Parliament, 1661-1667;
Hallam, pp. 357-407]*

Its religious
intolerance.

*For the
Savoy
Conference,
May, 1661,
see Hallam,
p. 392 (St. 24).*

The Corpora-
tion Act, 1661.

The new Act
of Uniformity,
1662.

as they had been before the war broke out. But even in the year 1660 it was clear that, unless the English people forgot their history, these questions would, sooner or later, have to be adjusted, and then there would be a renewal in some form or other of the civil struggle. For the present, however, the quarrel over the measure of the king's prerogative was entirely forgotten in the rejoicing over the restoration of order and security.

The Cavalier Parliament, as the Parliament elected in 1661 and allowed to hold power for eighteen years, was significantly called, completely expressed this reactionary sentiment of the country: it was more royal than the king. One of its first acts was to vote that no one could lawfully take arms against the sovereign. Little likelihood existed, therefore, that this body would stir up the old political differences between the monarch and his Commons.

With regard to the old religious differences, which had contributed so largely to the war between king and Parliament, they abruptly took a different form. There was in the Cavalier Parliament only one opinion: the Church of England and nothing but the Church of England. The first Legislature of the Restoration was in fact so extravagantly Anglican that the king himself became alarmed. And well he might have been troubled, in view of the very severe measures which this Parliament passed against its religious adversaries.

In the year 1661 the Parliament enacted the Corporation Act, which provided that every one who held an office in a municipal corporation would have to take the oath of non-resistance to the king, and receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. The measure, of course, turned all non-Anglicans out of the city governments. The next year (1662) there followed a new Act of Uniformity*, by which every clergyman and school-

** which decreed that the occupant of a benefice must have been ordained by a bishop, must use only the newly revised version of the Book of Common Prayer, must take the oath of canonical obedience, must be a member of the Church of England, and must declare that it was unlawful to take arms against the sovereign on any pretext whatever. — Ransom, p. 618.*

master who did not accept every prescription of the Book of Common Prayer was expelled from his living. Hundreds of the Presbyterian and Puritan clergy resigned their cures rather than assent, and from now on men of these faiths, together with the adherents of the other sects which had lately arisen, such as the Baptists and the Quakers, were embraced by the common name of Dissenters.

In the religious history of England this formal and definite ejection of the Puritan element from the Church marks a notable mile-stone. It will be remembered that the Puritans in general had not wished to separate from the national Church, but desired rather to so modify its forms that it might "comprehend" them. From now on all hope of "comprehension" was given up. The Dissenters, of whatever color, accepted their exclusion from the Church of England as an irrevocable fact, and henceforth directed all their efforts upon acquiring toleration for their own distinct forms of worship.

The Dissenters.

But the Cavalier Parliament was the last body in the world to give ear to such a request for religious liberty. As in its opinion, the proper way to treat Dissenters was to suppress them, it simply continued its anti-toleration measures. In the year 1664 it passed the Conventicle Act, by which all meetings of Dissenters for religious purposes were punished with fines culminating in transportation; and a year later (1665) there followed the Five Mile Act, by the terms of which no Dissenting minister was allowed to reside within five miles of a borough, town, or any place where he had once held a cure.*

The Conventicle Act, 1664.

The Five Mile Act, 1665.

It is not probable that the Cavalier Parliament would have insisted on the national creed with such vehemence, if it had not been persuaded that toleration granted to the Dissenters would open a loop-hole for the Catholics. And just then the suspicion against Catholicism was stronger in

The real enemy is Catholicism.

* unless he had subscribed to the Act of Uniformity, and had taken an oath that resistance to the King was unlawful. . . . Ransome, p. 619.

the land than ever, because of the secret machinations of the court in behalf of this faith. Had the facts that were only whispered in the palace-passages been known at Westminster, there can be no doubt that the religious legislation would have been even more stringent than it was; for Charles, although afraid to publish the truth, had not long after the Restoration, secretly embraced Catholicism.

Foreign
policy.

A monarch who identified himself so little in religious matters with his people was not likely to serve them in foreign affairs. In fact, his guidance of England was weak and unintelligent, being determined simply by aversion to the Dutch and affection for Louis XIV. of France.

The First
Dutch War of
the Restora-
tion, 1664-67.

The commercial rivalry between the Dutch and English had lately become very intense^{*}; moreover, the two nations laid conflicting claims to several colonies. In 1664 the First Dutch war of the Restoration broke out, and was fiercely continued for three years (1664-67). The two nations again proved worthy adversaries, as in the time of Cromwell, and although neither acquired a conspicuous advantage over the other, the Dutch at one time sailed up the Thames and blockaded London. However, this success was more of a disgrace for England than a positive calamity, and when peace was signed the Dutch were forced to make a sacrifice. They ceded their American colony, New Amsterdam, which was thereupon renamed New York, in honor of the duke of York, the king's brother.

The plague
and the fire,

1665, 1666.

Before the close of the war London was visited by a memorable succession of calamities. In the year 1665 a terrible plague is calculated to have swept away nearly 100,000 people. There was nothing anomalous about this visitation, for similar ravages of disease were not uncommon in Europe at that time, owing to the overcrowding of the cities and their insufficient sanitary arrangements. But the plague did not end London's troubles. Hardly had it van-

** In 1660 had been passed the Navigation Act, which was really a confirmation of the Ordinance of 1651, with two additions. See Amer. Hist. Rev.*

ished when a fire broke out which destroyed the whole City (1666).¹ Although the suffering from this new calamity was great at first, the fire proved a blessing in the end, for London was rebuilt on a broader, handsomer scale, and infections like the plague never again ravaged the population.

This was the time in European politics of the ascendancy of France. The leading fact of the general situation was that Louis XIV. was planning to extend his territory at the expense of his neighbors. The logical policy of England as the rival of France would have been to support the victim against the aggressor; but Charles was no patriot and allowed himself to be determined by personal motives. Naturally his riotous life kept him involved in constant money difficulties. Fortunes were flung away on entertainments or were lavished on courtiers and mistresses. To get money, therefore, became Charles's first object in life, and Louis XIV., who was always a clever manager, was perfectly willing to oblige his brother of England, if he could by this means buy England's aid, or, at least, her neutrality in the conflicts he anticipated. Now the French king began his aggressions in the year 1667, by invading the Spanish Netherlands; but after taking a few towns he was forced to desist, chiefly owing to the energetic protest of the Dutch. No wonder that Louis resolved to have revenge on this nation of traders. By the secret Treaty of Dover* (1670) he won over Charles by a handsome sum to join him in his projected war against the Dutch; and Charles, in his turn, stipulated to avow himself a Catholic and to accept aid from Louis in case his subjects on the news of his conversion revolted against him.

When, in the year 1672, everything was at length ready,

The friendship of Louis and Charles.

[The period 1667-1670 was the time of the two graceful - Colbert and minister. See Hallam, pp. 409-22. Suppl. Hallam 1667 or Treaty of Dover, 1670. (See Hallam pp. 413-14 or Ransome pp. 626-7. Stop of the Exchequer, 1672 See Ransome, p. 6

¹ The business heart of London is known by this name.

* Hallam, ch. XI. [pp. 413-17 Stm. Edm.] Ransome, pp. 626-7.

Second Dutch
War of the
Restoration

1672-74.

The Declara-
tion of Indul-
gence, 1672:

Ransome,
pp. 627-8.

The Dec-
laration
withdrawn,
1673.

Ransome,
pp. 628-9.

The Test Act,
1673—

Ransome,
p. 629.

Louis and Charles fell upon the Dutch, engaging in what in England is known as the Second Dutch War of the Restoration. Just as the war was about to break out, Charles, not yet daring to announce himself a Catholic, published a decree of toleration, the so-called Declaration of Indulgence, which, overriding the statutes of Parliament, set Catholics and Dissenters free. Such a declaration invites the sympathy of us moderns, but it is necessary to remember in judging it that its motives were impure. This the people knew, and when Parliament met, it insisted, before it would vote supplies for the war, on the king's withdrawing his Declaration. When this was done (1673), the war had lost its interest for Charles, and as the English people were learning to feel more and more strongly that their real enemy was the French and not the Dutch, Charles further gave way to popular pressure and concluded peace (1674). Thus the Treaty of Dover came to nothing, except in so far as it involved the Dutch in another heroic combat for their life and liberty. So stubborn was their defence under their Stadtholder, William III. of Orange, that Louis XIV. finally followed Charles's example and withdrew from the struggle (Peace of Nimwegen, 1678).

But the Parliament was not satisfied with having forced the king to withdraw his Declaration of Indulgence. To further secure the country against the secret machinations of the court, it added a crowning act to its intolerant religious legislation—the Test Act (1673). The Corporation Act (1661) had already purged the municipalities of non-Anglicans; by the Test Act¹ the exclusion was extended to officeholders of any kind. The king's own brother, the duke of York, an avowed Catholic, was among

¹ The Test Act is so named because every man, before taking office, was *tested* with regard to his faith by his willingness or unwillingness to take the sacrament as prescribed by the Church of England, *and to make a declaration against Tran-*
substantiation.—See Ransome, p. 629,
or Hallam, .. 420.

the victims of this act and was forced to resign his post of Lord High Admiral.

But the terror of a Catholic régime was not yet destroyed. The distrust that had grown up on the religious question between the reigning family and the people was so intense that it led the blinded Protestants into the most ludicrous extravagances. One of them is known as the "Popish Plot" (1678). A certain Titus Oates, a man of a very bad reputation, told a long story before a magistrate to the effect that he had discovered a conspiracy on the part of the Catholics to institute in England a second Saint Bartholomew. Although Oates's story was palpably absurd, it was instantly believed, and as a result of the frantic agitation which seized all England a number of prominent Catholics were confined in the Tower, and a paragraph was added to the Test Act, by which the Catholics were barred from the House of Lords, the only place where they had not hitherto been disturbed.

Charles died in the year 1685, after a reign of twenty-five years. On his deathbed he did what he had been afraid to do during his life: he confessed himself a Catholic.

Charles's reign is marked by an advance in the political life of the nation which deserves sharp attention. Under him there began to be formed for the first time parties with a definite programme and something like a permanent organization. It is evident that this was a significant step toward the guidance and control of political opinion within and without Parliament. The parties formed became known as Whigs and Tories,¹ and the chief question on which they split was the question of toleration. The Tories, who were the country gentlemen, stood for no-

*Lord, Chamberlain
Administration
covers the
period
1673-78.
Hallam, 423*

The Popish Plot, 1678.

The death of Charles II., 1685.

Whigs and Tories.

¹ These names were originally taunts. Tory is derived from the Irish and signifies robber. Whig comes from Whiggam, a cry with which the Scotch peasants exhorted their horses. Applied as a party name, it was intended to convey the idea of a sneaking Covenanter.

toleration for Dissenters; the Whigs, on the other hand, whose ranks were filled up from the great nobles and the middle classes, wished to promote this act of justice; both parties, being equally Protestant, agreed in denying toleration to the Catholics. Whigs and Tories from now on play a rôle of increasing importance in the history of England.

*James II. (1685-88).**

James is unpopular.

James II., who succeeded his brother Charles, was not only a Catholic, which, of course, raised an impassable barrier between him and his subjects, but he was also imbued with the same ideas of Divine Right as his father Charles I., and he held to them as stubbornly as ever that monarch had done. Under these circumstances the new reign did not promise well. And such favor as the king at first enjoyed he lost very soon owing to his unintelligent measures.

His Catholic policy.

As James was a Catholic among Protestants, he should at the very least, have kept quiet. But he seems to have been possessed with the idea that he had been made king for the express purpose of furthering the Catholic cause. He did not even trouble himself to proceed cautiously. In imitation of his brother, he published, in the year 1687, a Declaration of Indulgence, abolishing all penalties against Catholics and Dissenters. Regardless of the universal discontent he published the next year a Second Declaration, and ordered it to be read from all the pulpits. Most of the clergy refused to conform to this tyrannical order, and seven bishops presented to the king a written protest. James's answer was an order that legal proceedings be taken against them. Immense excitement gathered around the trial, which occurred in June, 1688.

The trial of the bishops, 1688.

Meanwhile other irregularities and illegalities of the king had added to his unpopularity. In the year of James's

The Bloody Assizes.

* Ransome, Book VII., ch. VI.
Hallam, Ch. XIV.
Macaulay: Hist. of England.

accession, the duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II., had risen in rebellion and claimed the throne, but he was caught and executed. James might have been satisfied with this success. He preferred, however, a general persecution. He sent into the west, among the people who had supported Monmouth, an infamous judge by the name of Jeffreys, for the purpose of ferreting out Monmouth's adherents. The mockery of justice engaged in by Jeffreys is known as "the Bloody Assizes—" this inhuman monster not being satisfied until he had hanged three hundred and twenty poor victims, and transported eight hundred and forty to the West Indies. The odium of these misdeeds, of course, fell upon the king.

All this was for a time put up with by the people because the next heir to the throne, James's daughter Mary, who was the child of his first marriage and the wife of William of Orange, was a Protestant. When, however, James's second wife gave birth, in June, 1688, to a son, who by the English law would take precedence over Mary, consternation seized the whole people. The son, it was foreseen, would be educated in the Catholic religion, and thus the Catholic dynasty would be perpetuated. As the birth of the son and the trial of the seven bishops occurred about the same time (June, 1688), England was filled with excitement from end to end. Seizing the opportunity, a few patriotic nobles invited William of Orange and his wife Mary to come to England's rescue.

Birth of a male heir, 1688.

In November, 1688, William landed in England, and immediately the people of all classes gathered around him. The army which James sent against him refused to fight, and James found himself without a supporter. Seeing that the game was up, he sent his wife and child to France, and shortly after followed in person. Perhaps never in history had there been so swift and so bloodless a revolution.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688.

Throne
offered to
William and
Mary.

Bill of Rights,
1689.

The Parliament, which met to deliberate on these events, declared the throne vacant, and offered it to William and Mary as joint sovereigns. As William and Mary were not the legitimate heirs, the sovereign of England was by this act virtually declared to be the nominee of the Parliament, and henceforth, the doctrine that an English king held his office by Divine Right, and not by the suffrages of the people, was quietly dropped. The Parliament furthermore fortified its position against the king by a Bill of Rights^{*} (1689), in which it reasserted all the claims of the Petition of Right (1628), and severely limited the king's so-called *dispensing* powers, by virtue of which James II. had claimed the right to *dispense* temporarily with such distasteful acts as those dealing with Catholics and Dissenters. Therewith the conflict between king and Parliament was over, and Parliament had again won. And the new victory was far more satisfactory than the earlier radical victory of Cromwell, for the ancient historical constitution was not *destroyed* this time but merely *modified* in accordance with the national needs. The difficulty between king and Parliament had been from the first the vague character of the royal prerogative. From now on, the king's power in the matter of taxation and interpretation of the laws was exactly defined by the Bill of Rights, and the Bill of Rights (stood² ~~not~~ only) on the statute books, but had also, in the course of a long struggle, become a part of every Englishman's political faith.

The Tolera-
tion Act, 1689.

If the "Glorious Revolution" secured the quiet political development of England, it was no less successful in preparing the way for the settlement of the religious questions which had harassed England throughout the seventeenth century. For on motion of the Whigs, Parliament passed, almost simultaneously with the Bill of Rights, a Toleration Act, by which Dissenters were given the right

* Hallam (Str. edn.), note 1 to ch. XV.

of public worship. The Test Act¹ indeed was not repealed, and Catholics were treated as harshly as ever, but the Toleration Act satisfied the religious demands of the majority of Englishmen, and religious peace was, by means of it, established in the kingdom. Bill of Rights and Toleration Act inaugurated in England the era of the new and genuine constitutionalism.

The literature of the seventeenth century presents, in sharp contrast, the two theories of life which combated each other under the party names of Cavalier and Roundhead. The moral severity, the noble aspirations of Puritanism found a poet in John Milton ("Paradise Lost," 1667), and a simple-minded eulogist in John Bunyan ("Pilgrim's Progress," 1675). But the literary reign of these men and their followers was short, for the Restoration quickly buried them under its frivolity and laughter. Inevitably literature followed the currents of the contemporary life, and Milton and Bunyan were succeeded by a school of licentious dramatists and literary triflers. John Dryden (1631-1701), although himself a man of sturdy qualities, became, by the force of circumstances, the leader of the Restoration set.

The literature.

If the Restoration were to be judged merely by its contributions to literature, it would have to be called a petty age. Luckily it made up for its dulness in art in another way: the Restoration marks a notable revival of the scientific spirit. A symptom of this was the founding, in the year 1660, of the Royal Society for the express purpose of promoting the investigation of scientific problems. The names of Locke and Newton, which grace this period, are sufficient evidence that the aims of the Royal Society were crowned with success.

The scientific revival.

¹ Although the Test Act was not repealed, the holding of office by Dissenters was frequently suffered by the connivance of the authorities.

England continued in ch. V., p. 248.

CHAPTER II

THE ASCENDANCY OF FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV. (1643-1715)

The work of
Richelieu.

THE work of Richelieu had cleared the way for the supremacy of France in Europe. By destroying the political privileges of the Huguenots and by breaking the power of the nobility, he had freed the royal authority from the last restraints which weighed upon it, and had rendered it absolute. In foreign matters Richelieu had engaged France in the Thirty Years' War, and had reaped for her the benefits of the Peace of Westphalia (1648). But just at this point, as France was about to assume a dominant position, she was threatened once more, and as it proved, for the last time under the old monarchy, by civil war.

The government, upon the death of Louis XIII. (1643), passed into the hands of his queen, Anne of Austria, who was named regent for the five-year-old king. At the same time the post of prime minister, which had been occupied by Richelieu, fell to the confidant of the regent, another churchman and an Italian by birth, Cardinal Mazarin. Most faithfully did Mazarin carry out the political intentions of Richelieu, but he encountered naturally, like his predecessor, the envy of the great nobles, the chief of whom was the famous general, the prince of Condé. The Peace of Westphalia had not yet been signed, when certain nobles rose (1648) against the crown, in the hope that the new minister would prove not to be of the metal of his predecessor. The event showed that they were mistaken. Al-

* See pp. 136-40, & 155-57. ~~See also pp. 136-40, & 155-57.~~
~~At~~, Lodge's "Richieri", ~~pp. 136-40, & 155-57.~~
 Kitchen's Hist. of France, Book IV., ch. IV. & V.
 # " " " " " " " VI VII VIII

though the Parliament of Paris and occasional municipalities joined the high-born rebels, thus giving the new civil disturbances something of the character of a popular movement, the Fronde (1648-53)*, as the rising against Mazarin was called, was never anything at bottom but the struggle of the nobility to recover its feudal privileges. Such a struggle deserved to fail; and if it now failed it was chiefly because France saw, as her whole history urged her to see, that in a question between king and nobles, her self-interest bound her to the former. The Fronde may be called the death-agony of the nobility as a feudal governing class. From the time of its suppression the nobles gradually transformed themselves into a body of docile courtiers, who were never occupied with anything more serious than the dances and spectacles of Versailles.

The Fronde.

The Peace of Westphalia was signed between France and the Austrian branch of the House of Hapsburg. Because France, in union with the Dutch, had been very successful in the Spanish Netherlands she was unwilling to draw off and conclude a peace with the Spanish branch of the Hapsburgs without an adequate reward. As this was refused, war with Spain still went on after the Peace of Westphalia had composed the rest of Europe. The Fronde occurring at this time, turned the tables and inclined the balance for some years in favor of Spain, but as soon as the Fronde was beaten down, Mazarin was able to win back the lost ground and force Spain to terms. Owing to foreign war and internal revolution, Spain was, in fact, at her last gasp. When she signed with France the Peace of the Pyrenees (1659), she signed away with it the last remnant of the supremacy which she had once exercised in Europe. France, the victor, took the place of Spain in the councils of the Continent, and signalized her triumph by acquiring from Spain certain small territories along the Pyrenees and in

The war with Spain.

The Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659.

* *Kitchin's Hist. of France, Book IV., ch. VII.*

the Spanish Netherlands (Roussillon and several places of Artois).

With the glory of the Peace of the Pyrenees still lingering around him, Mazarin died (1661). Thereupon the young Louis XIV., now twenty-three years of age, resolved to take the government into his own hands. When he expressed to the assembled secretaries that he would henceforth be his own prime-minister, many of them may have smiled and doubted. But he kept his word: the varied business of the French Government was transacted from Mazarin's death to his own end practically by himself. It is said that he once stated his political theory in the words: *l'état c'est moi* (I am the state). Whether used by him or not, the phrase expresses admirably the spirit of his reign, for he held himself to be the absolute head of the state, and regarded his ministers not as the responsible heads of departments, but as clerks. It is characteristic that the sun was his favorite emblem, because he was pleased to imagine, that as the earth drew its sustenance from the central luminary, so the life of France emanated from himself: *le roi-soleil* (sun-king), was the title given him by idolizing courtiers. Absolutism had existed in Europe long before Louis XIV., but Louis XIV. hedged the absolute monarchs around with a new divinity, and gave the doctrine of the Divine Right of kings a more splendid setting and a more general currency than it had ever had before.

The personal
government
of Louis XIV.

Absolutism
becomes
Divine Right.

The spread
of government
by Divine
Right.

There is nothing beautiful to us in government by Divine Right. But it is not difficult to explain that government historically. It came into existence simply because there was nothing better at hand. The feudal state had been destroyed; the national state not yet created; and as things stood, the only reliable element of government was the king. It was so the Continent over. The peculiar distinction of Louis XIV. lies in having realized the ideal

of the new absolutism in advance of others. Beginning with him, however, the new absolutism made the conquest of Europe. Everywhere it tended to raise the king above the law and to destroy all the public institutions which served as barriers to his will. And just here it was that the germ of danger in the new system lay. Monarchs who were worshipped like gods were likely to forget that they must needs have an end beyond their *bon plaisir*, their good pleasure, as the courtly phrase ran. The abuses which crowded upon the path of the new absolutism inevitably therefore, after a century and a half, led to its overthrow and to the evolution of other more just and popular principles of government.

Louis began auspiciously enough by giving much attention to the improvement of the machinery of government. He reorganized the diplomatic service; he rendered the administration more effective; he enlarged the army and navy; and he purged the finances of disorder and established them upon a sounder basis. The king's most efficient helper in all this was Jean Colbert* (1619-83). Colbert served the king as minister of finance, and merely by putting an end to the traditional peculation of the tax-gatherers, succeeded in turning the annual deficit of the state into a surplus.

The king's reforms.

Colbert.

This same Colbert is also celebrated as the father of French manufactures. He encouraged the native industries by developing and applying the system of protection (known at the time as the mercantile system), with a greater measure of severity than had been practised up to that day. Foreign goods were practically excluded by Colbert from the country. Whatever ill resulted from the system, certainly French silks, brocades, laces, and glass captured, and have held to this day, the markets of the world. Colbert also improved the means of internal communication by

The prosperity of France.

* *Kitchin's Hist. of France, Book I., chs. I. & II.*
Adams' Growth of the French Nation, pp. 212-16.

building the best roads and canals which Europe could then boast, and he favored the establishment of colonies. Settlements were, at this time, made in the West Indies, Louisiana, and India. In a word, France seemed intent, in the early years of Louis XIV., on matching the political and military supremacy already attained, with the more substantial supremacy, which is the result of a long period of commercial and industrial prosperity.

Unfortunately Louis's successes turned his head. He was only a young man, and had only governed a few years, and now he found himself the cynosure of all Europe. In all truth he could say that he was the first power of the world. But in measure as he found that his neighbors were no match for him, he began to be tempted by the thought of making them his dependents. It was not a high ambition, this, still it won the day with him. In the year 1667, therefore, Louis entered upon a career of aggression and conquest, which after a few brilliant results, led to such a succession of disasters that the man whose progress had been attended by clouds of incense wafted by admiring courtiers closed his career in ignominy.

Four great wars substantially filled the rest of Louis's life. They were: 1, The War with Spain for the possession of the Spanish Netherlands (1667-68); 2, the War with the Dutch (1672-78); 3, the War of the Palatinate (1688-97); 4, the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-14).

When Louis, in the year 1667, surveyed the political situation, and, noting his own prosperity and the weakness of his neighbors, resolved on a war of conquest, he must have debated carefully whither he would best move. He decided finally that it would be wisest to extend the French boundaries toward the east. Probably he argued that France needed to be strengthened, most of all, on this side.

Louis becomes a conqueror.

His wars.

Louis antagonizes Europe.

By choosing to expand eastward, however, he was bound to antagonize the three countries which were directly threatened by this move: Spain, the Dutch, and Germany. Sooner or later, too, he was likely to arouse the jealousy of the ancient rival of France, England. Did Louis, when he began war so lightly, reckon with the chance of a European coalition against him? Probably not. He saw only the contemporary divisions of Europe and his own brilliant opportunity, and like every other adventurer, he let the future take care of itself.

In 1667 Louis suddenly invaded the Spanish Netherlands. The fact that he tried to justify himself by putting forth some vague claims* of his Spanish wife to these territories, only added hypocrisy to violence. His well-appointed army took place after place. Spain was too weak to offer resistance, and if the Dutch, frightened at the prospect of such a neighbor as Louis, had not bestirred themselves, Louis would have overrun all the Spanish Netherlands. The Triple Alliance of the Dutch, England, and Sweden, formed by the rapid ingenuity of the republican patriot, John de Witt, who was at this time at the head of the Dutch Government, bade Louis halt. Louis, on occasion, could distinguish the possible from the impossible. In answer to the threat of the Triple Alliance, he declared himself satisfied with a frontier strip and retired. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) formally secured him in his bold theft (1668).

For the next few years Louis seemed to be dominated by a single thought—revenge upon the Dutch. The Dutch had been the soul of the Triple Alliance; the Dutch primarily hindered his expansion eastward. The plan he now formed was to sever the Dutch from all their friends and allies, and then fall upon them unawares. The diplomatic campaign, preliminary to the declaration of war, was

I.

The war of the Spanish Netherlands, 1667-68.

The isolation of the Dutch.

*See Montgomery's *Leading Facts of French History*, pp. 177-78.

II.

*The War
with the
Dutch,
1672-78.*

crowned by complete success. Sweden and the emperor were detached from the Dutch by treaties of neutrality; and Charles II., by the Treaty of Dover¹ (1670), was even pledged to join the forces of England with the French in the proposed war. In the spring of 1672 everything was ready. While the combined French and English fleets engaged the Dutch fleet under the celebrated Admiral Ruyter in the Channel, the French army, led by Condé and Turenne, invaded the territory of the Seven United Provinces by following the course of the Rhine.

The House of
Orange to
the front.

The character
of William.

In a few weeks most of the provinces, owing to the decay into which de Witt had permitted the army and fortresses to fall, were in the hands of the French. And now a terrible indignation swept over the alarmed people. They fell upon and murdered the republican leader de Witt, and would be satisfied with nothing less than the triumphant reinstatement of the House of Orange, which, at the close of the Spanish war, the republicans had quietly shelved. In an outburst of enthusiasm, William III. of Orange was made Stadtholder and supreme commander on sea and land. This William was far from being a genius, but he was sprung from an heroic race, and the responsibility for a nation's safe-keeping which was put upon him in a stern crisis, brought out his best qualities. The English ambassador, on the occasion of the French invasion, invited him to submit, urging that it was easy to see that the Republic was lost. "I know one means of never seeing it," he replied, "to die on the last dyke." It was this spirit that now steeled the temper of the little people and enabled them to emulate the deeds of their ancestors against Spain.*

Before Louis could take the heart of the Netherlands, the city of Amsterdam, the Dutch had, at the order of William,

¹ See page 193.

** For the siege of Leyden (1574)
see p. 110.*

cut the dykes and restored their country to the original dominion of the waters. Louis had to retreat; his opportunity was lost. But Europe was now thoroughly aroused, and before many months had passed, there had rallied to the cause of the Dutch, the emperor, the states of the Empire, and Spain. In the year 1674 the position of Louis was still further weakened. In that year the state of English public opinion forced Charles II. to abandon Louis and make his peace with the Dutch.* Louis was thereupon left to face a great continental coalition with no ally but remote Sweden. The odds in a struggle with all Europe were patently against Louis, and although the superiority of French organization and French generalship enabled him to win every pitched battle with his foes, he was glad enough to end the war when peace was offered. By the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678) his supremacy in Europe was confirmed, and he was permitted, in recognition of that supremacy, to incorporate the Franche Comté,† a detached eastern province of Spain, with France.

The Dutch war becomes general.

The second war, too, although it had roused a European alliance against Louis, had brought him its prize of a new province. Louis was now at the zenith of his glory. The adulation of his court became more and more slavish, until the flattered monarch imagined that he could do everything with impunity. His imperious temper is well exhibited by an event of the year 1681. In a period of complete peace he fell upon the city of Strasburg, the last stronghold of the Empire in Alsace, and incorporated it with France.

Louis takes Strasburg.

A cloud that settled on the spirit of the king at this time prepared a monstrous action. The frivolous, pleasure-loving Louis, having lately fallen under the influence of a devout Catholic lady, Madame de Maintenon, the governess of some of his children, was suddenly seized with religious exaltation. To Madame de Maintenon the eradica-

* see p. 194.

† which was formerly the County of Burgundy, and lay east of the Duchy of that name. — Muralt, L. F. 57, 78, Hist.

tion of heresy was a noble work, and Louis, taking the cue from her, began gradually to persecute the Protestants. At first, innocently enough, rewards were offered to voluntary converts. Then the government proceeded to take more drastic measures; wherever Huguenots refused on summons to become Catholics, rough dragoons were quartered on the recalcitrants, till they had become pliant. These barbarities became known as *dragonnades*. Finally, in 1685, two years after Louis had formally married Madame de Maintenon, and had thus become thoroughly enslaved to her policy, he revoked the Edict of Nantes^{*}, by virtue of which the Huguenots had enjoyed a partial freedom of worship for almost one hundred years. Therewith the Protestant faith was proscribed within the boundaries of France. The blow which by this insane measure struck the prosperity of the country was more injurious than a disastrous war. Thousands of Huguenots—the lowest estimate speaks of 50,000 families—fled across the border and carried their industry, their capital,¹ and their civilization to the enemies of France—chiefly to Holland, America, and Prussia.

The occupation of Strasburg and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes were events belonging to an interval of peace. But Louis was already planning a new war. When his preparations became known, the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain concluded, at the instigation of William of Orange, a new alliance. Happily before the war had well begun, a lucky chance won England for the allies. In 1688 James II. was overthrown by the “glorious Revolution,” and William of Orange became king of England. As the

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

England joins Europe against Louis.

¹ The industry and the capital of the Huguenots are not mere phrases. The Huguenots and their co-religionists everywhere were the hardest workers of the time, largely through the direct influence of Calvin. Calvin interpreted the commandment: Six days shalt thou labor, literally, and abandoned the dozens of holidays which forced Catholic workmen to be idle a good part of the year.

*see p. 134.

temper of the English people had at the same time become thoroughly anti-French, William had no difficulty in persuading them to join Europe against the French tyrant. Thus in the new war—called the war of the Palatinate, from the double fact that Louis claimed the Palatinate and that the war began with a terrible harrying by fire and sword of that poor Rhenish land—Louis was absolutely without a friend.

This third war (1688-97) is, for the general student, thoroughly unmemorable. Battles were fought on land and on sea, in the Channel, in the Netherlands, and along the Rhine, and generally the French proved their old superiority; but they were not strong enough to reap any benefit from their successes against the rest of Europe, and in 1697 all the combatants from mere exhaustion were glad to sign, on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Ryswick.

III.
The War of
the Palatinate,
1688-97.

The War of the Palatinate was the first war by which Louis had gained nothing. The fact should have served him as a warning that the tide had turned. And perhaps he would not have been so utterly scornful of the hostility of Europe if there had not opened up to him at this time a peculiarly tempting prospect. The king of Spain, Charles II., had no heir, and at his death, which might occur at any time, the vast Spanish dominion—Spain and her colonies, Naples and Milan, the Spanish Netherlands—would fall no one knew to whom. The Austrian branch of Hapsburg had, of course, a claim, but Louis fancied that his children had a better title still in right of his first wife, who was the oldest sister of the Spanish king. The matter was so involved legally that it is impossible to say to this day where the better right lay.

The Spanish
inheritance.

(For an
abstract
summary
see p. 100
of the book)

Anticipating a struggle with Europe over the coming inheritance, Louis entered into negotiation with his chief ad-

Louis signs
and rejects
the Partition
Treaty.

versary, William III. of England, long before the death of Charles II. had made the inheritance a burning question. A partition treaty was accordingly agreed on by the two leading powers of Europe, as the most plausible settlement of the impending difficulties. But when, on the death of Charles II., November, 1700, it was found that the Spanish king had made a will in favor of Philip, the duke of Anjou, one of Louis's younger grandsons, Louis threw the partition treaty to the winds. He sent Philip to Madrid to assume the rule of the undivided dominion of Spain. The House of Bourbon now ruled the whole European west. "There are no longer any Pyrenees," were Louis's exultant words.

The Grand
Alliance.

IV.
*The War
of the
Spanish
Succession,
1702-14.*

It was some time before Europe recovered from the shock of its surprise over this bold step, and nerved itself to a resistance. William, of course, was indefatigable in arousing the Dutch and English, and at last, in 1701, he succeeded in creating the so-called Grand Alliance, composed of the emperor, England, the Dutch, and the leading German princes*. Before the war had fairly begun, however, William, the stubborn, life-long enemy of Louis, had died (March, 1702). In the war which broke out, called the war of the Spanish Succession, 1702-14, his spirit is to be accounted none the less a potent combatant.

The
combatants
compared.

In the new war the position of Louis was more favorable than it had been in the preceding war. He commanded the resources not only of France but also of Spain; his soldiers still had the reputation of being invincible; and his armies had the advantage of being under his single direction. The allies, on the other hand, were necessarily divided by conflicting interests. What advantages they had lay in these two circumstances, which in the end proved decisive: The allies possessed greater resources of money and men, and they developed superior commanders.

*i.e., the King of Prussia, the Elector Palatine, and the Elector of Hanover. — Ransome, p. 707.
#For an excellent account of this war from the

The great French generals, Condé and Turenne, were now dead, and their successors, with the exception of Marshal Villars and Vauban, the inventor of the modern system of fortification, were all men of commonplace capacity. In the highest commands, where France was weak, England and Austria on the other hand proved themselves particularly strong. They developed in the duke of Marlborough and in Eugene, prince of Savoy, two eminent commanders. Equally gifted, they planned their campaigns in common, with sole reference to the good of the cause, and they shared the honors of victory without the jealousy which often stains brilliant names.

Not even the Thirty Years' War assumed such proportions as the struggle in which Europe now engaged. It was literally universal, and raged, at one and the same time, at all the exposed points of the French-Spanish possessions, that is, in the Spanish Netherlands, along the upper Rhine, in Italy, in Spain itself (where the Hapsburg claimant, the Archduke Charles, strove to drive out the Bourbon king, Philip V.), on the sea, and in the colonies of North America. The details of this gigantic struggle have no place here. We must content ourselves with noting the striking military actions and the final settlement.

The War of the Spanish Succession is a world struggle.

The first great battle of the war occurred in 1704, at Blenheim, near the upper Danube. The battle of Blenheim was the result of a bold strategical move of Marlborough, straight across western Germany, in order to save Vienna from a well-planned attack of the French. Together with Eugene, Marlborough captured or cut to pieces the French army. At Blenheim the myth of French invincibility was exploded, and the English soldier there again revealed his capabilities to Europe. In 1706 Marlborough won a splendid victory at Ramillies, in the Netherlands, and in the same year Eugene defeated the French at Turin and drove

The victories of Eugene and Marlborough.

them out of Italy. These signal successes were followed in the years 1708 and 1709 by the great victories of Oudenarde and Malplaquet. Oudenarde and Malplaquet left France prostrate, and seemed to open up the road to Paris.

A Tory
ministry
succeeds the
Whigs.

The road to Paris, however, owing to a number of unexpected occurrences, which utterly changed the face of European politics, was never taken. In 1710 the Whig ministry in England, which had supported Marlborough and advocated the war, was overthrown, and a Tory ministry, in favor of peace at any price, succeeded. Thus from 1710 on, Marlborough's actions in the field were paralyzed. The next year there happened something even worse.

See

pp. 252-3

The death of
Emperor
Joseph.

In 1711 the Emperor Joseph died, and was succeeded by his brother, Charles VI. As Charles was also the candidate of the Grand Alliance for the Spanish throne, the death of Joseph held out the prospect of the renewal of the vast empire of Charles V. Such a development did not lie in the interests of England and the Dutch, and these two nations now began to withdraw from the Grand Alliance and urge a settlement with the French. Louis, who was utterly exhausted and broken by defeat, met them more than half way. In 1713, the Peace of Utrecht ended the war of the Spanish Succession.

The Peace of
Utrecht, 1713.

By the Peace of Utrecht the Spanish dominions were divided. Everybody managed to get some share in the booty. First, Philip V., Louis's grandson, was recognized as king of Spain and her colonies, on condition that France and Spain would remain forever separated. Next the emperor was provided for; he received the bulk of the Italian possessions (Milan and Naples), together with the Spanish Netherlands (henceforth Austrian Netherlands). The Dutch were appeased with a number of border fortresses in the Austrian Netherlands, as a barrier against France; and

England took some of the French possessions in the New World, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia (Acadia) and the Hudson Bay Territory, together with the Spanish rock of Gibraltar, which gave her the command of the Mediterranean Sea.* The ambitious and dissatisfied emperor refused, at first, to accept this peace, but he was forced to give way and confirm its leading arrangements by the Peace of Rastadt (1714).

Shortly after the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastadt, Louis XIV. died (September, 1715). The material prosperity that he and Colbert had created in his early years, had vanished, and he left a debt-burdened country and a famished population. His disastrous end was a merited penalty for a foolish ambition. But to his contemporaries he remained to the day of his death, the *grand monarque*; and that title is a good summary of him as he appears in history, for it conveys the impression of a showy splendor which is not without the suspicion of hollowness.

Louis's death.

The brilliancy which Louis's long reign lent France cast a spell upon the rest of the world. Under its action Louis's court became the model court of Europe, and the so-called good society, the world over, adopted, for more than a century, the French tongue, French manners, French fashions, and French art. That such mere imitation could bring other nations no solid cultural advantages goes without saying, but it is fair to recognize that French civilization under Louis must have possessed an irresistible attractiveness to have excited such universal admiration.

The dominance of French civilization.

Louis established his court at Versailles. There he built a vast palace at fabulous expense, whither he drew the aristocracy of France, to lead, under his eyes, the life of polished elegance, with its round of plays, pastorals, fêtes, hunts, and dances. Perhaps royalty never had, before or after, so distinguished a setting.

Versailles becomes the capital of France.

* Further, Louis promised to recognize the Protestant succession to the English throne (as provided by the Parliament in 1689), and to send the young Pretender, the son of James II., out of France.

The bloom of
French
literature.

Under Louis, French literature was enriched by some of its best productions. It is the period of the pseudo-classicists, whose work is not without much of the artificiality which was naturally absorbed with the life of the time, but who possess, nevertheless, genuine human qualities. France points proudly to Corneille (d. 1684) and Racine (d. 1699), writers of notable tragedies, and Molière (d. 1673), author of the wittiest and most searching comedies that have ever been written.

France cont'd. in ch. V., pp. 257-60.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF RUSSIA^{*} UNDER PETER THE GREAT (1689-1725) AND CATHARINE THE GREAT (1762-96); THE DECAY OF SWEDEN

THE Russian people do not make their entrance into history until the ninth century, when they were conquered by a band of Norsemen and united in a state under Rurik. The Norse family of Rurik continued to rule in Russia for over seven hundred years. This period was a period of barbarism, and only one or two facts connected with it are really memorable.

The conquest of Russia by the Norsemen.

In the tenth century the Russians became Christians, being converted to the Greek form of Christianity by missionaries from Constantinople. Three hundred years later there occurred a great calamity. Russia was overrun by the Mongols, barbarians from Asia, and it was only after a subjugation of two hundred and fifty years that Ivan III., known as the Great, succeeded in casting off the foreign yoke (1480). This same Ivan also reduced the power of the great princes and the municipalities, and laid the foundations of the absolute monarchy. Ivan IV. (1533-84), known as the Terrible, added to these triumphs. By the conquest of Astrachan from the Tartars, he pushed the Russian boundary southward to the Caspian Sea.¹ He also

The unification of Russia under Ivan III. and Ivan IV.

¹ Ivan also ventured to discard the old title of Grand Duke of Muscovy for the more distinguished one of Czar. Czar is supposed to be derived from Cæsar, and its adoption meant that the rulers of Russia considered themselves, now that Constantinople had fallen (1453), the heirs of the traditions of the Eastern Empire.

* *Abbott's The Empire of Russia*
Rambaud's The History of Russia

attempted to acquire for Russia a hold upon the Baltic, and thus gain an outlet toward the west. This plan failed, but Ivan's ambition was inherited by his successors. In fact, until the plan was realized under Peter the Great, the Russian monarchs seem to have buried every other aspiration.

The House of
Romanoff.

The House of Rurik came to an end in 1598. For the next ten years Russia was in a condition of anarchy, and the whole state seemed on the verge of falling a prey to its jealous western neighbors, Sweden and Poland. In 1613 the national party, however, succeeded in putting one of its own number, Michael Romanoff, upon the throne, and under the House of this prince the state rapidly revived.

The conquest
of Siberia.

Not only did the early Romanoffs banish the Polish and Swedish influence, but they also succeeded in greatly extending the Russian power through the acquisition of Siberia. This vast conquest, covering the whole of northern Asia, was not the reward of a succession of military triumphs. Rather than to the Russian monarchs the acquisition of Siberia is to be ascribed to the enterprise of Russian traders and adventurers, who, as they penetrated progressively into the ice fields of Asia in search of furs and walrus ivory, annexed territory after territory in the name of their master.

The accession
of Peter, 1682.

The Romanoffs came to honor in the person of Peter, who succeeded to the throne, together with his older brother Ivan, in the year 1682. As the new Czars were, at that time, still boys, and Ivan little better than an imbecile, the government was exercised for some time by an older sister, Sophia, in the capacity of regent. However, in 1689 Peter, who had then attained his seventeenth year, resolved to take matters into his own hands. He declared the regency at an end, and summarily sent Sophia to a nunnery. As the sickly Ivan (d. 1696) was harmless,

Peter generously allowed him to play the part of a co-ruler for the few more years that he lived.

In order to understand Peter's programme, it is necessary to review the chief elements of the political and intellectual position of Russia at the time of his accession. In the second half of the seventeenth century the Russians were still in life and manners an Asiatic people, who were connected with European culture by but a single bond—their Christian faith. Their political situation seemed, at first sight, more hopeful. But in spite of the vast area of the state, which included the eastern plain of Europe and the whole north of Asia, Russia was so cooped in on the west and south by a ring of great powers, Persia, Turkey, Poland, and Sweden, that she was practically an inland state and in actual danger of strangulation for want of an outlet to the sea. Finally, it is necessary to understand the Russian constitution. The Czar was the absolute master, but there existed two checks upon his power—the patriarch, the head of the Church, who exercised great influence in religious matters, and the Streltsi, the Czar's body-guard, who, because they were a privileged force, felt inclined to regard themselves superior to their master. This whole composite situation Peter soon seized with a statesmanlike grasp, and admirably moulded it, through the efforts of a long rule, to his own purposes. He set himself, in the main, three aims, and met in all a degree of success which is fairly astonishing. These aims were the following:

The three great aims of Peter's life.

(1) He resolved to make the culture connection between Russia and Europe strong and intimate; he labored to open a way to the west by gaining a hold on the Black and on the Baltic seas; and, lastly, he planned to rid himself of the restraint put upon his authority by the patriarch and the Streltsi.

Peter is a difficult person for a modern man to under-

Peter's character.

stand. One aspect presents him as a murderer, another as a monster of sensuality, and still another as a hero. We have the key to his character when we remember that he was a barbarian of genius—never anything more. Civilized standards applied to him are unjust and fail. Barbarity was an element of his blood, and all his strenuous, life-long aspirations for the nobler things of the mind and the sweeter things of the soul never diminished in him a certain natural depravity. Therefore, his life is full of the strangest contrasts. With barbarian eagerness he assimilated every influence that he encountered, good and evil alike, and surrendered himself, for the time being, to its sway with all his might. Certainly, his distinguishing characteristic is an indomitable energy : Peter's life burnt at a white heat.

Peter's first conquest : Azov.

Peter's first chance to distinguish himself came in the year 1695. The emperor was at that time waging war against the Turks, who were beginning to show the first symptoms of collapse. Seeing his opportunity, Peter resolved to make use of the fortunate embarrassment of the Turks to acquire a southern outlet for Russia. In 1696 he conquered the Port of Azov. The future now opened more confidently to him, and before taking another step he determined to visit the West and study the wonders of its civilization with his own eyes.

Peter's journey of instruction.

Peter spent the year 1697-98 in travel through Germany, Holland, and England. The journey, undertaken with a large suite of fellow-students like himself, was meant purely as a voyage of instruction. Throughout its course Peter was indefatigable in his efforts to get at the bottom of things, at the methods of western government, at the sources of western wealth, at the systems of western trade and manufacture. "I am a learner," is the motto encircling the seal which he had struck for this voyage.

At Zaandam, in Holland, he hired out for a time as a common ship-carpenter, ship-building from the time of his boyhood having been a passion with him. But he did not, because of it, neglect the examination of the other developed activities of the west. He attended surgical lectures, visited paper-mills, flour-mills, printing presses, in short, was untiring in his efforts to assimilate, not a part, but the whole of western civilization. In England, King William received him with especial cordiality and assisted him in every way in the prosecution of his studies. The rough Peter was the joke of the day among the fashionable people of London, but the intelligent at London and elsewhere were spurred to interest by this enthusiastic worker, who labored so conscientiously to fit himself for the task of practical reformer of the barbarian people which he ruled.

The opportunity for putting the results of his trip to the test of practice came sooner than Peter expected. At Vienna he heard that the Streltsi had revolted. He set out post-haste for home, established order, and then took a fearful vengeance. Over a thousand of the luckless guards were executed with terrible tortures. Rumor reports that Peter in his savage fury himself played the headsman. Sovereign and executioner—this combination of offices filled by Peter, clearly exhibits the chasm that then yawned between Europe and Russia. But no one will deny that there was method in Peter's madness. The Streltsi had been a constant centre of disaffection, and had frequently threatened the throne. Now was the time, as Peter clearly saw, to get rid of them. Those who were not executed were dismissed, and the troop was replaced by a regular army, organized on the European pattern and dependent on the Czar.

The Streltsi
disbanded.

Peter's reforms now crowded thick and fast. Everything

The Church
made de-
pendent on
the Czar.

foreign was fostered at the expense of everything national. He introduced western dress. By means of a tax he opposed the Russian custom of wearing long beards, and arming himself with a pair of scissors, occasionally, with his own imperial hand did execution on his subjects. Many were the superstitious Russians who saw in this revolutionary hatred of beards a threat directed at the orthodox religion. The clergy especially became increasingly suspicious of Peter's policy. As the discontent of the clergy was a danger to the throne and a hindrance to reforms, the Czar resolved to make that order more dependent on himself. When the patriarch died in 1700, Peter committed the functions of the primate to a synod which he himself appointed and controlled, and thus the Czar became the head of the Church as he already was the head of the state.

His civiliz-
ing labors.

To enumerate more than a part of Peter's activities in behalf of his state is quite impossible. He invited foreign colonists and mechanics to Russia in order that his backward subjects might be aided by the best instruction of Europe; he built roads and canals; he encouraged commerce and industry; and he erected common schools. The fruits of these vast civilizing labors ripened of course slowly, and Peter did not live to gather them. But his efforts at making himself strong through a navy and army, and at extending his territory to the sea, were crowned with a number of brilliant and almost immediate successes.

Peter turns
to the Baltic.

After his return from the west, Peter was more desirous than ever of gaining a hold on the Baltic. Azov, on the Black Sea, was worth little to him as long as the Turks held the Dardanelles. The west, it was clear, could be best gained by the northern route. But the enterprise was far from easy. The Baltic coast was largely held by Sweden, and Sweden, the first power of the north, was

prepared to resist any attempt to displace her with all her energy.

The rise of Sweden to the position of the first power of the north dates from the time of Gustavus Adolphus (1611-32). Gustavus extended his rule over almost the whole of the northern and eastern shore of the Baltic, and by his interference in the Thirty Years' War, his daughter Christina, who succeeded him, acquired, as her share in the German booty, western Pommerania and the land at the mouth of the Weser and the Elbe (1648). Sweden was now for a short time the rival of France for the first honors in Europe. Unfortunately, her power rested solely on her military organization, not on her people and her resources, and, as experience proves, no purely military state is likely to live long. But as the Swedish rulers of the seventeenth century were capable men, especially in war, they succeeded in maintaining the supremacy which Gustavus had won. However, they injured and antagonized so many neighbors that it was only a question of time when these neighbors would combine against the common foe. Denmark to the west, Brandenburg-Prussia to the south, Poland and Russia to the east, had all paid for Sweden's exaltation with severe losses, and nursed a deep grudge against her in patience and silence. The long awaited opportunity for revenge seemed at length to have arrived, when in the year 1697, Charles XII., a boy of fifteen, came to the throne. His youth and inexperience appeared to mark him as an easy victim. Therefore, Denmark, Poland, and Russia now formed a league against him to recover their lost territories (1700).

The greatness of Sweden.

The league of Denmark, Poland, and Russia, 1700.

The allies had, however, made their reckoning without the host. Charles XII. turned out, in spite of his youth, to be the most warlike member of a warlike race—a perfect fighting demon. To his military qualities he owes his great

Charles XII. of Sweden.

reputation. But beyond them he lacked almost every virtue of a ruler. Extravagantly flighty and unreasonable, he was never governed by a consideration of the welfare of his state, but always shaped his policy by his own notions of pride and honor. He was Don Quixote promoted to a throne, and though he could fight with admirable fury against windmills, he could not govern and he could not build. In the year 1700 his full character was yet undiscovered, and people stopped open-mouthed with wonder, as he rose, splendid, like a rocket, in the north.

The marvelous campaign of 1700.

Before the coalition was ready to strike, young Charles gathered his troops and fell upon the enemy. As the forces of Denmark, Poland, and Russia were necessarily widely separated, he calculated that if he could meet them in turn, the likelihood of victory would be much increased. He laid his plans accordingly. In the spring of 1700, he suddenly crossed from Sweden to the island of Seeland, and besieged Copenhagen. The king of Denmark, unprepared for so bold a step, had to give way, and readily signed with Charles the Peace of Travendal (August, 1700), in which he promised to remain neutral during the remainder of the war. The ink of this document was hardly dry before Charles was off again like a flash. This time he sailed to the Gulf of Finland, where Peter was besieging Narva. Peter had with him at Narva some 50,000 men, while Charles was at the head of only 8,000; but Charles, nevertheless, ordered the attack, and his well-disciplined Swedes soon swept the confused masses of the ill-trained Russians off the field like chaff. The Russians now fell back into the interior, and Charles was free to turn upon his last and most hated enemy, August the Strong, king of Poland. Before another year had passed, Charles had defeated August as roundly as the sovereigns of Denmark and Russia.

Victory of Narva.

Thus far the war had been managed admirably. Charles

might have made his conditions and gone home. But obstinate as he was, he preferred to have revenge on August, whom he regarded as the instigator of the alliance. He resolved not to give up until he had forced his adversary to resign the Polish crown, and had appointed as successor a personal adherent. But an attempt such as this, necessitated getting Poland into his hands. The difficult and ambitious plan led to the undoing of his first successes, and finally, to the ruin of his life.

Charles's mistake.

Poland was at this time in a condition hardly better than anarchy. The nobles held all the power and were sovereign on their own lands. The only remaining witnesses of a previous unity were a Diet, which never transacted any business, and an elected king, who was allowed no power and had nothing to do. In the year 1697, the Poles had even elected to the kingship a foreigner, August the Strong, elector of Saxony. Now when in the year 1701 King August was defeated by Charles, the majority of the Poles were glad rather than sorry, for August had engaged in the war with his Saxon troops, and without asking the consent of the Polish Diet; but when Charles began making conquests in Poland and insisted on forcing a monarch of his own choosing on the Poles, a national party naturally gathered around August, who, although a foreigner, was, nevertheless, the rightful king.

Anarchy in Poland.

For many years following the brilliant campaign of 1700 Charles hunted August over the marshy and wooded plains of Poland. Always victorious, he could never quite succeed in utterly crushing his enemy. Even his taking Warsaw and crowning his dependant, Stanislaus Lesczinski, king, did not change the situation. Finally, in 1706, Charles decided on a radical measure. He suddenly invaded Saxony, in order to injure August in that part of his possessions from which he drew his largest revenues. As

Charles in Poland.

Saxony was a part of the Empire, Charles's act of aggression drew upon him an angry protest from the emperor. But luckily for Charles, the emperor was then engaged with all his resources in the War of the Spanish Succession, and dared not raise up against himself another enemy. Thus Saxony left to herself succumbed to her invader, and August was forced to sign a peace in which he acknowledged his rival, Stanislaus, king of Poland. Of course, a peace signed under such conditions was illusory. In fact, August broke it as soon as an opportunity offered.

The progress
of Peter.

But the peace with August at length set Charles free to act against the Russians. Too much time had been lost already, for since Peter's defeat at Narva, great things had happened. The Czar had indeed fallen back, but he was resolutely determined to try again, and while Charles was, during six long years, pursuing spectres in Poland, Peter carefully reorganized his troops, and conquered half the Baltic provinces (Ingria, Carelia, Livonia, Esthonia). In 1703 he founded on the newly acquired territory the city of St. Petersburg, destined to become the modern capital of Russia.

Pultava, 1709.

Charles, following his usual method, immediately after having wrung a peace from August resolved on a decisive stroke against the Russians. He marched (1707) for the old capital, Moscow, very much like Napoleon one hundred years later. But he was defeated by the hardships of the march and the rigors of the climate before he met the enemy. When Peter came up with him at Pultava (1709), the Swedes fought with their accustomed bravery, but their sufferings had worn them out. And now, Narva was avenged. The Swedish army was literally destroyed, and Charles, accompanied by a few hundred horsemen, barely succeeded in making his escape to Turkey. // The verdict of Pultava was destined to be final. Sweden stepped down

Russia takes
the place of
Sweden.

from her position of great power into obscurity, and a new power, Russia, henceforth ruled in the north. //

As for Charles, the Sultan received the famous warrior kindly, and offered him Bender for a residence. There Charles remained five years—long enough to make Bender the name of one of the maddest chapters of his madcap career. While at Bender, he held it to be the business of his life to drag the Sultan into a war with Peter; but the Sultan, whose states were in decay, long refused to meet his wishes. When he did give way (1711), the first campaign came near ending in a signal triumph, for Peter, who was no general, allowed himself and his whole army to be caught in a trap; but at the suggestion of Peter's clever wife, the Grand Vizier, who led the Turkish forces, was offered a bribe, and as a result Peter was allowed to slip off before Charles had his revenge. The whole bad adventure merely cost Peter Azov, on the Black Sea. As for Charles he raved like a madman on seeing his foe escape, and when the Sultan, tired of the impertinence of the eternal meddler, requested him, a little later, to leave his territory, Charles obstinately refused to budge. It took a regular siege to bring him to understand that his entertainment in Turkey was over, and even then he fought like a demon upon the roof of his burning house until he fell senseless. At length, after an absence of five years, he turned his face homeward (1714).

Charles at
Bender in
Turkey.

But Charles returned too late to stem the ebb of the Swedish destinies. The surrounding powers had taken advantage of the king's long absence to help themselves to whatever part of Sweden they coveted. Charles met them, indeed, with his accustomed valor, but his country was exhausted, and his people alienated. In 1718, while besieging Frederikshald in Norway, he was killed in the trenches, the probability being that he was shot by a Swedish traitor.

The death of
Charles, 1718.

The Russian
acquisitions.

His sister, Ulrica Eleanor, who succeeded him, was compelled by the aristocratic party to agree to a serious limitation of the royal prerogative. Then the tired Swedes hastened to sign a peace with their enemies. Denmark agreed to the principle of mutual restitutions; the German states of Hanover and Brandenburg acquired payments out of the Swedish provinces in Germany; August the Strong received recognition as king of Poland; but Peter, who had contributed the most to the defeat of Charles, got too, by the Treaty of Nystädt (1721), the lion's share of the booty: Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia, in fact, all the Swedish possessions of the eastern Baltic except Finland.

The execution
of Alexis.

Peter was now nearing the end of his reign. His rule had brought Russia a new splendor, but though he could enumerate successes such as fall to the lot of very few men, he was not spared defeat and chagrin. For one thing his efforts in behalf of Russian civilization were not appreciated. The Russians objected to being lifted out of their barbarism, and it took all of Peter's iron will to exact obedience to his measures of reform. Under the circumstances the national party, which directed the opposition to Peter, soon fixed its hopes upon Peter's son and heir, Alexis, and Alexis, for his part, shunned no trouble to exhibit his sympathy with a reactionary policy. With a heavy heart Peter had to face the possibility of a successor who would undo his cherished life-work. For years he took pains to win Alexis over to his views, but when his efforts proved without avail, he resolved, for the sake of the state, to strike his son down. The resolution we may praise; the method was terrible. It exhibited once more all of Peter's latent savagery. The Czarowitz was tortured in prison until he died (1718), and the probability is that the father presided in person at the execution of the son.

When Peter died (1725), it seemed for a time as if Russia would return to her former Asiatic condition. The government fell into the hands of a succession of dissolute, incompetent Czarinas, who had few interests in life beyond their own pleasures. Out of this sorry plight the country was drawn by the accession of a remarkable woman, who had enough good sense to accept the traditions of Peter's reign, and enough power to continue them. This was Catharine II., the wife of Peter III. Catharine, by birth a petty princess of Germany, had married Peter III. when he was heir-apparent. She was not only intelligent and energetic, but also wholly unscrupulous, and shortly after Peter III., who was crochety and half insane, had ascended the throne (1762), she had him strangled by two of her favorites. Although she thus acquired the supreme power by means of a crime, once in possession of it, she wielded it with consummate skill. Being of western birth, she naturally favored western civilization. Peter the Great himself had not been more anxious to found schools, and create industries and a commerce. More important still, she took up Peter's idea of expansion toward the west.

Catharine II.,
1762-96.

With Sweden annihilated by Peter, the only other European powers which pressed upon Russia, were Poland and Turkey. Poland lay across the land-route which led from Russia to the west, and Turkey held the water-route which led to Europe by the Black Sea. Catharine gave her life to the abasement of these two European neighbors, and before she died she had succeeded in destroying Poland and in bringing Turkey to her feet.

Catharine
plans to
destroy Po-
land and
Turkey.

The hopeless anarchy of Poland had been brought home to everyone in Europe, when Charles XII. of Sweden succeeded in holding the country for a number of years with a mere handful of troops (1702-1707). The weakness of the country was due to the selfish nobles and their impos-

Polish
anarchy.
Liberum veto.

sible constitution. To realize the ludicrous unfitness of this instrument, one need only recall the famous provision called *liberum veto*, which conferred on every noble the right to forbid by his single veto the adoption by the Diet of a measure distasteful to himself. By *liberum veto* one man could absolutely stop the machinery of government. Under these circumstances Poland fell a prey to internal conflicts, and soon to ambitious foreign neighbors. As it is a universal law that the weak are exposed to destruction from the strong, Poland has herself to thank in the first place for the ruin that overtook her in the eighteenth century. But that fact, of course, does not exempt from guilt the powers that threw themselves upon her like beasts of prey, and rent her asunder.

Russia,
Prussia, and
Austria
equally
responsible
for the par-
tition.

It is useless to investigate what one person or power is responsible for the idea of the partition of Poland. The idea was in the air, and the three powers which bordered on Poland and benefited from the partition—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—must share the odium of the act among them. It is, however, true that, of the three co-operating sovereigns—Catharine of Russia, Frederick the Great of Prussia, and Maria Theresa of Austria—Catharine and Frederick appear in a much severer light than Maria Theresa, who long held out against her son and her prime minister when they urged the necessity of participating in the proposed robbery.

The First Par-
tition, 1772.

Diplomatically considered, the First Partition of Poland was a triumph for Frederick the Great; for Catharine was counting on swallowing the whole booty, when Frederick stepped in, and by associating Austria with himself forced the Czarina to divide with her neighbors. The First Partition belonging to the year 1772 did not destroy Poland. It simply peeled off slices for the lucky highwaymen; the land beyond the Dwina went to Russia, Galicia to Austria,

and the Province of West Prussia to Prussia. But the principle of interference had been once established, and a few years later the fate of Poland was sealed by a Second and a Third Partition (1793 and 1795). Poland ceased to exist as a state, when her last army, gallantly led by Kosciusko, went down before the Russians; but as a people, she exists to this day, and stubbornly nurses in her heart the hope of a resurrection.

The Second and Third Partitions, 1793, 1795.

Her signal success over the Poles excited Catharine to increased efforts against the Turks. In two wars (first war, 1768-74; second war, 1787-92), she succeeded in utterly defeating the Turks, and in extending her territory along the Black Sea to the Dniester. It was a fair acquisition, but it did not satisfy her ambitious nature. She dreamed of getting Constantinople, and left that dream as a heritage to her successors. They have cherished it dearly, and during the hundred years since her death they have struggled patiently to push their frontiers to the Bosphorus.

Catharine's successes over the Turks.

Catharine left Russia at her death (1796) the greatest power of the north. Her life, like that of Peter, is stained with crime and immorality, but these two have the honor of having lifted Russia almost without aid, and often in spite of herself, to her present eminent position.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES *

The develop-
ment of Bran-
denburg.

THE modern kingdom of Prussia has developed, by a gradual process, out of the ancient mark of Brandenburg. The mark of Brandenburg was founded in the tenth century, when Germany was practically confined to the territory between the Rhine and the Elbe, as a bulwark against the Slavs, who were constantly pushing in from the east. With the increasing strength of Germany, the mark assumed the aggressive, crowded back the heathen Slavs foot by foot from the Elbe to the Oder and beyond, and took their land in possession for German and Christian civilization. Before the end of the thirteenth century the mark had become a considerable state, and was organized as one of the four lay electorates of the kingdom of Germany. But the race of fighting margraves, known as the Ascanians, to whom Brandenburg owed its extension, died out in the thirteenth century, and for some time there reigned such confusion that the electorate threatened to fall back into barbarism. Out of this anarchy it was saved by the fortunate accession of the line of Hohenzollern margraves, who have guided its destinies to this day.

The Hohen-
zollern take
hold of Bran-
denburg,
1415.

The Hohenzollern proved themselves, in general, a family of tough fibre, who by patient labor raised themselves from rung to rung of the ladder of dignities, until in our day the head of the House has become emperor of re-united Germany. But before the year 1415, when the

* *Little's Hist. of Prussia*
Abbott's

Hohenzollern, Frederick, was invested with the electorate of Brandenburg, the family had not filled a large rôle in the history of Germany. In the south, in Franconia, where they were settled, they had hardly been more than respectable nobles.

Frederick of Hohenzollern took up his task in his new acquisition of Brandenburg with energy, brought back order, and mapped out the lines of future progress. One hundred years later, his successor, Joachim II., the contemporary of Luther, ranged himself on the side of the Reformation without, however, arriving at anything like such a rôle in the religious history of the period as the elector of Saxony. It was in fact not till the seventeenth century that the margrave of Brandenburg began to outstrip all the other princes of the Empire, for under the Elector John Sigismund (1608-19) the family fell heir to two lucky legacies, which secured for it considerable territories in the extreme east and in the extreme west of Germany. In 1609 this John Sigismund acquired, by the death of the last duke of Cleves and Juliers (Jülich), a share of the duke's dominions, and in 1618 he succeeded to the duchy of Prussia.

The Hohenzollern acquire the Rhine provinces and Prussia.

The term Prussia was applied rather indefinitely in the Middle Age to the land which lay along the eastern shore of the Baltic. The country owed its name to the heathen and Slav tribe of Prussians, who had held it before the order of the Teutonic Knights had, in the thirteenth century, conquered them, and won their land for the German nation. Prussia was gradually settled by German colonists and was ruled by the Knights, under their Grand Master, in full independence, until the king of Poland, as the result of a successful war, annexed the western half of the territory (West Prussia), and gave back to the Knights the eastern half (East Prussia), solely on condition that they hold

History of Prussia.

it as a fief of his crown (the Treaty of Thorn, 1466). In the history of this province of East Prussia the great Protestant movement of the sixteenth century effected an important change. The Grand Master of the Knights, Albert, a younger member of the House of Hohenzollern, adopted in 1525 the Protestant faith, and thereupon, with the consent of his Polish suzerain, converted the Prussian dominion of the Teutonic Knights into a duchy with himself as duke. In 1618, Albert's line having failed, the duchy of Prussia, or more exactly East Prussia, fell to Albert's relative of Brandenburg.

Poor showing during the Thirty Years' War.

It was at this time that there broke out in Germany the 'Thirty Years' War. The combined Hohenzollern possessions along the lower Rhine, in Brandenburg, and in East Prussia, should have made the elector of that period, George William (1619-40), an important factor in the struggle; but as he was a man without courage and intelligence, and too fearful to throw in his lot definitely with either emperor or Swedes, his lands were equally harried by both. It was left to George William's son, Frederick William (1640-88), known as the Great Elector, to carry the name of Brandenburg into European politics.

*Fredk. William
the Gr. Elector,
1640-88*

Acquisitions made at Peace of Westphalia.

When Frederick William succeeded to the throne (1640), the Thirty Years' War had reduced his lands to the utmost misery. He straightway adopted a vigorous policy, expelled both Swedes and Imperialists from his states, and in general displayed such energy, that, when the Peace of Westphalia (1648) was signed, he received a number of valuable additions of territory—namely, the three secularized bishoprics of Halberstadt, Minden, and Magdeburg, and the eastern half of Pomerania. Brandenburg had a valid claim to all of Pomerania, but the claim could not be realized, as a great power, Sweden, took the western and better half of Pomerania for herself.

**i.e., John Sigismund (1608-19)*

Frederick William found himself, at his accession, at the head of three groups of territories—the Brandenburg territories, the Cleves territories, and the Prussian territories—and each group was organized as a separate little state with its own Diet (Landstände), its own army, and its own administration. Frederick William, after a hard struggle, replaced the government of the Landstände by his absolutism; declared the local army national; and merged the three separate administrations. He thus amalgamated his three states into one, and to all intents and purposes created a united monarchy of which he was absolute master. As he was a tireless worker, his influence was bound to be felt in many ways. He encouraged industry and agriculture; he drained marshes; and he built the celebrated Frederick William canal, which joins the Elbe and the Oder. He was constantly drawing colonists into his dominions, and when the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) drove so many Huguenots into exile, the Great Elector's warm intercession in their behalf, attracted to Brandenburg some 20,000 of them, who were settled around Berlin, and succeeded, in the course of a few generations, in turning the sand-wastes which encompass the capital into a pleasant garden.

He unifies his three territories.

*Internal
Improvement*

Frederick William was also a man of large political views. If he kept an army it was not for purposes of parade; he wished to maintain himself against his neighbors, and to be ready, when the chance came, to extend his dominion. The result of this alertness was that he became involved in many wars. In the Northern War, between Sweden and Poland (1655-60), begun by the restless spirit of Charles X. of Sweden, the successor of Queen Christina, he made himself so invaluable to both sides, that by skilful and unscrupulous manœuvring, he induced the king of Poland to renounce the suzerainty of East Prussia, and give

Frederick William acquires East Prussia in full sovereignty.

the duchy to him in full sovereignty. This was his greatest political triumph.

He defeats
the Swedes.

A much greater military triumph he won a few years later. In 1672, Louis XIV. fell upon Holland, and Frederick William, together with the emperor, marched to the assistance of the hard-pressed Republic. In order to draw the elector back from the Rhine, Louis now persuaded the Swedes, his only ally, to invade Brandenburg. The elector thereupon hastened homeward at his best speed, and succeeded in surprising and utterly defeating the Swedes at Fehrbellin (June, 1675). The military reputation of Brandenburg was henceforth established, and in the course of the next few years the elector clinched matters by driving the Swedes completely out of Pomerania. But when the general European war came to an end, by the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678), Frederick William was not allowed to keep his conquest. Louis XIV. stood faithfully by his ally, Sweden, and insisted that she should not pay for her help to him by territorial sacrifices. With a sore heart, Frederick William had to give way, and in a treaty, signed near Paris, at St. Germain-en-Laye (1679), he regretfully restored to the Swedes what he had won.

The Silesian
dispute.

After this disappointment he tried to advance his interests in Silesia, where the House of Hohenzollern had ancient claims to certain provinces. Silesia, whether rightly or wrongly, was held at this time by the emperor, and the emperor did not choose to regard the elector's claims as valid. As the emperor was the stronger, he could afford to insist on his point of view. But the time came when the emperor was preparing a great league against France, and then Frederick William with his fine army was wanted as an ally. The emperor, who was Leopold I., thereupon declared his willingness to adjudicate the differences between himself and Brandenburg, and finally,

after many negotiations, he induced Frederick William to sign away, in return for the district of Schwiebus in Silesia, all his other rights in that province (1686). But the emperor played a double game. While one agent was negotiating this arrangement with the elector, another was persuading the elector's son, who was not on good terms with his father, to take a sum of money, and promise, in return, to give back Schwiebus on his accession. Two years later Frederick William died (1688), and his son Frederick, who succeeded him, had to live up to the bargain. However, he expressly insisted that the restoration of Schwiebus involved the revival of all those rights to the Silesian territories which had been signed away. This Silesian incident is of importance, because it turned up again some fifty years later, and then the Machiavellian triumph of the emperor Leopold drew upon the House of Hapsburg a terrible catastrophe.

The elector Frederick was a very different man from his shrewd, practical father. Having been weak and deformed from his birth and incapable of hard work, he had learned to care very much more about the pleasures of the court than about the duties of his office. His reign is memorable for one fact only: Frederick won for the elector of Brandenburg the new title of king in Prussia. The title was granted by the emperor Leopold, in order to secure Frederick's alliance in the War of the Spanish Succession which was just breaking out. On January 18, 1701, the coronation of Frederick took place at Königsberg, the capital of East Prussia, and henceforth the Elector Frederick III. of Brandenburg was known by his higher title of King Frederick I. in Prussia.¹ The title, king in Prussia, was adopted in preference

Fred'k. I.
1688-1713

The elector becomes king in Prussia, 1701.

¹ The form of the title, king *in* Prussia, was due to the fact that all of Prussia did not belong to the Hohenzollern; Poland still held the western half, and might reasonably have objected to the title, king *of* Prussia.

to that of king of Brandenburg, because Frederick wished to be king in full independence, and that was possible only in Prussia, as Prussia was not a part of the Empire. The name Prussia was henceforth used as a common designation for all the Hohenzollern states, and gradually supplanted the use of the older designation, Brandenburg.

Frederick William I., the great internal king, 1713-40.

Frederick's successor, King Frederick William I. (1713-40), is a curious reversion to an older type. He was the Great Elector over again, with all his practical good sense, but without his genius for diplomatic business and his political ambition. He gave all his time and his attention to the army and the administration. By close thrift he managed to maintain some 80,000 troops, which almost brought his army up to the standing armies of such states as France and Austria. And what troops they were! An iron discipline moulded them into the most precise military engine then to be found in Europe, and a corps of officers which did not buy its commissions, as everywhere else at that time, but was appointed strictly by virtue of merit, applied to it a trained and devoted service. In his civil administration he continued the work of centralizing the various departments, which was inaugurated by the Great Elector. A "General Directory" took complete control of the finances, and its severe demands gradually called into being the famous Prussian bureaucracy, which in spite of its inevitable "red tape," is notable to this day for its effectiveness and its devotion to duty. Certain it is that no contemporary government had so modern and so thrifty an administration as that of Frederick William.

Creation of the Prussian bureaucracy.

Frederick William's one war.

For these creations of an efficient army and a unified civil service, both of which were made to depend directly and solely upon the crown, and for a healthy financial system, which yielded that rare blessing, an annual surplus, Frederick William I. deserves to be called Prussia's greatest

internal king. On the other hand, he failed to win for himself in Europe a position commensurate with his strength, because he was completely wanting in political capacity. He engaged in but one war. In 1709 we saw that Charles XII. was defeated at Pultava, and that the neighbors of Sweden made use of the opportunity of his absence in Turkey to divide his territories. Frederick William, unable to close his eyes to the good fortune which beckoned, joined Russia, Denmark, and Poland, and in the year 1713 took possession of a part of Swedish Pomerania. In the peace signed after Charles XII.'s death (1720), he declared himself contented with the territory around Stettin, thus acquiring for Prussia at last a convenient port upon the Baltic.

This sturdy king, who did so much for Prussia, made himself, by reason of his personal eccentricities, the laughing-stock of Europe. His ideal of the king was the patriarch. He had his eye upon everybody and everything. If he suspected a man of being wealthy, he would order him to build a fine residence to improve the looks of the capital. If he met an idler in the streets he would belabor him with his cane, and end by putting him into the army. But, perhaps, his wildest eccentricity was his craze for tall soldiers. At Potsdam, his country residence, he established a giant-guard, ~~from~~ ^{for} which he won recruits from all parts of the world. He hung over his giants like a tender father, and was so completely enslaved by his hobby, that he, who was thrifty to the point of avarice, offered enormous prices in all markets for tall men, and did not scruple to capture them by force when they refused to enlist.

His eccentricities.

This unpolished boor naturally kept his elegant neighbors in convulsions of laughter by his performances. At one point, however, his eccentricities threatened to end not in laughter but in tears. The king's son and heir,

The youth of
Frederick
the Great

Frederick, known afterward as the Great, was a self-willed, careless fellow, with artistic inclinations, and in all respects the opposite of his military, practical father. Parent and son had no understanding of each other, and when Frederick William attempted by corporal punishment to coerce his son, the proud prince resolved to run away. In the year 1730 he tried, with the aid of some friends, to carry out his design, but was betrayed at the moment of its execution. Frederick William almost lost his mind from rage. He threw his son into prison, and for a time was determined to have him executed as a deserter. When the crown prince was at last released, he was put through such a training in the civil and military administrations from the lowest grades upward, as perhaps no other royal personage has ever received. The discipline doubtless awakened resentment in Frederick, the gay prince; but Frederick, the serious-minded king, was enabled thereby to know every branch of his vast administration like a thumbed book.

Frederick's
accession,
1740.

(1740-86)

In the year 1740 Frederick II., who had now reached the age of twenty-eight, succeeded his boorish father. As he had spent the last years of his father's life in retirement at Rheinsberg, where he had gathered around himself a circle of dilettanti, and given himself up to the pursuit of art and literature, everything else was expected of him, when he ascended the throne, rather than military designs and political ambition. But an unexpected opportunity brought out all his latent military gifts.

The death of
Charles VI.,
1740.

A few months after Frederick's accession, in October, 1740, the Emperor Charles VI., the last male of the line of Hapsburg, died. Long before his death, foreseeing the troubles that would arise, he had by a law, which received the name of the Pragmatic Sanction, appointed his oldest daughter, Maria Theresa, his sole heir, and during his whole life he bestirred himself to extract from the European

powers guarantees of this Pragmatic Sanction. These guarantees having been obtained from all the leading states, sometimes at a great sacrifice, he died with composed conscience, and the archduchess Maria Theresa prepared immediately to assume the rule of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary, and the other Hapsburg lands. It was at this point that Frederick stepped in. His father had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, too, but Frederick did not choose to consider that circumstance. He thought only of the old Prussian claims to parts of Silesia and this unparalleled opportunity to realize them by means of the full treasury and the large army of his father, and in December, 1740, invaded the disputed province. His act was the signal for a general rising. Spain, France, Savoy, Bavaria, and Saxony, following his example, all dished up some kind of claim to parts of the Austrian dominions. They sent their armies against Maria Theresa, and their greed merely mocked at that poor princess's indignant remonstrances. Thus hardly was Charles VI. dead, when it was apparent that the Pragmatic Sanction was not worth the paper it was written on.

Frederick invades Silesia.

It might have gone hard with Maria Theresa if she had not found splendid resources of heart and mind in herself, and if she had not gained the undivided support of the many nationalities under her sway. Her enemies were descending upon her in two main directions, the French and their German allies from the west, by way of the Danube, and Frederick of Prussia from the north. Unprepared as she was, her raw levies gave way, at first, at every point. On April 10, 1741, at Mollwitz, Frederick won a great victory over the Austrians, clinching by means of it his hold upon Silesia. In the same year the French, Saxons, and Bavarians invaded Bohemia. So complete, for the time being, was the dominion of the anti-Austrian

The War of the Austrian Succession,

1740-48.

Charles VII.
of Bavaria,
emperor.

alliance that it was even enabled to carry the election of its candidate, the elector Charles of Bavaria, for the imperial office. The elector assumed his new dignity with the title of Emperor Charles VII. (1742-45), and for the first time in three hundred years the crown of the Empire rested upon another than a Hapsburg head.

End of the
First Silesian
War, 1742.

But at this point Maria Theresa's fortunes rose again. Her own pure enthusiasm did wonders in restoring and organizing her scattered forces. The army of the coalition was driven out of Bohemia; Bavaria was in turn invaded and occupied. The Prussians, who had likewise entered Bohemia, in order to help the French, were hard pressed, but saved themselves by a victory at Czaslau (May, 1742). Thereupon Maria Theresa, who saw that she could not meet so many enemies at one and the same time, declared her willingness to come to terms with her most formidable foe. In 1742 she signed with Frederick the Peace of Breslau, by which she gave up practically the whole Province of Silesia. What is known in Prussia as the First Silesian War had come to an end.

The Second
Silesian War,
1744-45.

Maria Theresa now prosecuted the war against her other enemies with increased vigor. England and Holland, old friends of Austria, joined her, and the war assumed wider dimensions. During the next years the French consistently fell back. The Emperor Charles VII. lost his Bavarian dominions*, and there was every chance that Maria Theresa would become master of Germany. Aware that in that case he could not hold his new conquest a year, Frederick was moved to strike a second blow. In 1744 he began the Second Silesian War, in which his calculations were completely successful. He first relieved the French and the Bavarians by drawing the Austrians upon himself, and then he defeated his enemy signally at the battle of Hohenfriedberg (1745). On Christmas day, 1745, Maria Theresa

**Saxony and Sassy deserted the allies, and went over to Austria.*

bought her peace of Frederick by a renewed cession of Silesia (Peace of Dresden).

For a few more years the general war continued. After Frederick's retirement it was waged chiefly in the Austrian Netherlands, where a newly risen French general, Maurice de Saxe, gave Maria Theresa a great deal to do. Finally, in 1748, everybody being tired of fighting, the contestants signed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen), by which Maria Theresa was universally recognized as the sovereign of Austria. Already as early as 1745, her husband, Francis of Lorraine, had been elected emperor in place of Charles VII., who had died in misery (1745). Thus the affairs of Germany were gradually brought back into the accustomed rut. The War of the Austrian Succession had come to an end, and, against everybody's prediction, the empress's splendid qualities had maintained the Austrian dominions intact, with the exception of certain slight cessions in Italy and the one substantial sacrifice of Silesia.

End of the
War of the
Austrian Suc-
cession, 1748.

When Frederick retired from the Second Silesian War, the position of Prussia had been revolutionized. The king had received from his father a promising state, but it was of no great size, and it enjoyed no authority in Europe. Frederick, by adding Silesia to it, gave it for the first time a respectable area; but that acquisition alone would not have raised Prussia to the level of Austria, France, England, or Russia. It was the genius displayed by the young king, who stood at the head of Prussia, which fell so heavily into the balance, that Prussia was henceforth counted among the great powers of Europe.

Prussia a great
power.

Frederick, having thus won his military laurels, settled down to the much harder work of governing with wisdom and elevating his people materially and mentally. The ten years of peace which followed the Second Silesian War are crowded with vigorous internal labors. He drained the

Frederick's
peace labors.

great swamps along the Oder, and colonized the land thus won, in one case with 2,000, in another with 1,200 families. He promoted the internal traffic by new canals, and established new iron, wool, and salt industries. Finally, he planned for the whole of his dominions a new and uniform code of laws*, and prescribed a rapid and simple administration of justice.

Frederick, the philosopher.

All of Frederick's various labors never destroyed in him the light, humanistic vein which marks him from his birth. He engaged in literature with as much fervor as if it were his life-work, and took constant delight in composing music and in playing the flute. What pleased him most, however, was a circle of spirited friends. He was especially well-inclined to Frenchmen, because that nation represented, to his mind, the highest culture of the Europe of his day. A larger or a smaller circle of Frenchmen was about him all his life to comment and to laugh, and for a number of years (1750-53) he even entertained at his court the prince of the eighteenth century philosophers, Voltaire. But after a period of sentimental attachment, the king and the philosopher quarrelled, and Voltaire vanished from Berlin in a cloud of scandal. In any case, the momentary conjunction of the two bright particular stars of the eighteenth century—the one its greatest master in the field of action, the other its greatest master of thought and expression—has an historical interest.

Voltaire.

Maria Theresa nurses plans of revenge.

All this while Frederick was aware that Maria Theresa was not his friend. A high-spirited woman such as the empress was not likely to forget the deceit of which she had been made the victim. She hoped to get back Silesia, and for years carefully laid her plans. As early as 1746 she entered upon a close alliance with Russia. Next, her minister Kaunitz planned the bold step of an alliance with France. In the eighteenth century an alliance between

* *De Tocqueville's The Old Regime, Book II., ch. I., note "f."*

Hapsburg and Bourbon, the century-old enemies, seemed ridiculous. The rule in Austria had been the alliance with England, and any other arrangement seemed to be contrary to the law of nature itself. Kaunitz, however, accomplished the miracle of a diplomatic revolution, which during the next years turned Europe topsy-turvy. His plans were greatly aided by the following circumstance: England and France were making ready, in the middle of the century, to contest the empire of the sea.¹ Both were looking for continental allies, and as Prussia, after holding back a long time, was induced at last to sign a convention with England,* France was naturally pushed into the arms of Prussia's rival, Austria. In the spring of 1756 this diplomatic revolution was an accomplished fact. The two great political questions of the day, the rivalry between England and France, on the one hand, and of Prussia and Austria, on the other, were about to be fought out in the great Seven Years' War (1756-63), and the two northern and Protestant powers of England and Prussia were to consolidate therein their claims and interests against the claims and interests of the Catholic powers, France and Austria.

The diplomatic revolution of 1756.

Even before the formal declaration of war (May, 1756) the grand struggle between France and England for the supremacy over the colonial world had broken out in America, India, and on all the seas. For the immediate future England was engaged with all her forces in meeting France at these various points. The result was that Prussia had to meet single-handed one of the most formidable combinations of history. Coolly reviewing the situation of 1756, one may fairly say that the Austrian diplomacy was justified in the belief that the hated rival of Austria was as good as annihilated. The union with France was the basis of the

Military plans of Austria.

¹ See the next chapter.

* England guaranteed the neutrality of Hanover, of which George II. was the sovereign.

confidence of Maria Theresa and Kaunitz, but there were also, signed or being signed, and hardly less important, a whole series of alliances with Russia, Sweden, and Saxony. The plan of the Austrian cabinet was that the Austrians should march upon Frederick from the south, the French from the west, the Russians from the east, the Swedes from the north, and so shut in and choke to death the new power of which they were all jealous.

✓ Frederick's one chance in this tremendous crisis was to move quickly. Before the allies had declared against him, he therefore, by a lightning stroke, occupied Saxony, and invaded Bohemia (autumn, 1756). The next year his enemies, whose number had meanwhile, at the instigation of Francis I.,^{*} the husband of Maria Theresa, been increased by the accession of the states of the Empire, marched upon him from all points of the compass. Again he planned to meet them separately before they had united. He hurried into Bohemia, and was on the point of taking the capital, Prague, when the defeat of a part of his army at Kolin (June 18th), forced him to retreat to Saxony. Slowly the Austrians followed and poured into the coveted Silesia. The Russians had already arrived in East Prussia, the Swedes were in Pomerania, and the French, together with the Imperialists—as the troops of the Empire were called—were marching upon Berlin. The friends and family of Frederick were ready to declare that all was lost. He alone kept up heart, and by his courage and intelligence freed himself from all immediate danger by a succession of surprising victories. At Rossbach, in Thuringia, he fell, November 5, 1757, with 22,000 men, upon the combined French and Imperialists of twice that number, and scattered them to the winds. Then he turned like a flash from the west to the east. During his absence in Thuringia the Austrians had completed the conquest of Silesia, and were already

The Seven
Years' War
begins, 1756.

(1756-63)

The famous
campaign of
1757.

** who had succeeded Louis XIV. as
Emperor, in 1745. — see p. 241.*

proclaiming to the world that they had come again into their own. Just a month after Rossbach, at Leuthen, near Breslau, he signally defeated, with 34,000 men, more than twice as many Austrians, and drove them pell mell over the passes of the Giant Mountains back into their own dominions. Fear and incapacity had already arrested the Swedes and Russians. Before the winter came, both had slipped away, and at Christmas, 1757, Frederick could call himself lord of an undiminished kingdom.

In no succeeding campaign was Frederick threatened by such overwhelming forces as in 1757. By the next year England had fitted out an army which, under Ferdinand of Brunswick, operated against the French upon the Rhine, and so protected Frederick from that side. As the Swedish attack degenerated at the same time into a mere farce, Frederick was allowed to neglect his Scandinavian enemy, and give all his attention to Austria and Russia. No doubt even so, the odds against Prussia were enormous. Prussia was a poor, barren country of barely 5,000,000 inhabitants, and in men and resources Austria and Russia together outstripped her at least ten times; but at the head of Prussia stood a military genius, with a spirit that neither bent nor broke, and that fact sufficed for awhile to establish an equilibrium.

The situation is simplified.

Prussia against Austria and Russia.

It was Frederick's policy during the next years to meet the Austrians and Russians separately, in order to keep them from rolling down upon him with combined forces. In 1758, he succeeded in beating the Russians at Zorndorf and driving them back, but in 1759 they beat him in the disastrous battle of Kunersdorf. For a moment now it looked as if he were lost, but he somehow raised another troop about him, and the end of the campaign found him not much worse off than the beginning. However, he was evidently getting weak; the terrible strain continued through years was beginning to tell; and when George

Frederick grows weaker.

England
deserts him.

III., the new English monarch, refused (1761) to pay the annual subsidy, by which Frederick was enabled to keep his army on foot, the proud king himself could hardly keep up his hopes.

Peace with
Russia, 1762.

At this crisis Frederick was saved by the intervention of fortune. Frederick's implacable enemy, the Czarina Elizabeth, died January 5, 1762. Her successor, Peter III., who was an ardent admirer of the Prussian king, not only straightway detached his troops from the Austrians, and signed a peace, but went so far as to propose a treaty of alliance with the late enemy of Russia. Peter III. was soon overthrown (July, 1762), but although his successor, Catharine II., cancelled the Prussian alliance, she allowed the peace to stand. This same year England and France came to an understanding (Preliminaries of Fontainebleau, 1762) and hostilities between them were at once suspended on all the seas. So there remained under arms only Austria and Prussia, and as Austria could not hope to do unaided what she had failed to do with half of Europe at her side, Maria Theresa, although with heavy heart, resolved to come to terms. In the Peace of Hubertsburg (February, 1763), the cession of Silesia to Frederick was made final.

Peace with
Austria, 1763.

The second
period of
peace, 1763-
86.

Counting from the Peace of Hubertsburg Frederick had still twenty-three years before him. They were years devoted to the works of peace. And all his energy and administrative ability were required to bring his exhausted country back to vigor. We now hear again, as during the first period of peace (1745-56), of extensive reforms, of the formation of provincial banks, the draining of bogs, the cutting of canals, and the encouragement of industries; in a word, we hear of Frederick doing everything that an energetic ruler has ever been known to do.

Only two political events of this period of Frederick's life claim our attention. In 1772 the troubles in Poland

*usually
known as
Catherine
the Great*

led to the First Partition of that unhappy country among Russia, Austria, and Prussia. Frederick received, as his share, the province of West Prussia, establishing, at last, by means of it the necessary continuity between his central and his eastern provinces. In 1778, another war threatened to break out with Austria. Joseph II. (1765-90), the gifted and fiery son of Maria Theresa,¹ now influenced affairs in that country and anxious to use every opportunity to extend his power, was planning to absorb Bavaria. This Frederick was bound, if necessary, to resist by arms, and therefore took the field. The quarrel was, however, adjudicated before a battle had been fought, and the so-called War of the Bavarian Succession came to an end in 1779 by Joseph's sacrificing his ambition. In 1786 Frederick died at his favorite residence, Sans Souci, after a reign of forty-six years (1740-86).

The acquisition of West Prussia.

Danger of another war with Austria, 1778.

The great result of Frederick's reign, from the European point of view, is, that he called into life a new power. From the German point of view, the most significant fact in connection with his life is, that he created the dualism between Austria and Prussia, and that from his time on the ancient Catholic power, Austria, the traditional head of the confederation, was engaged in fierce rivalry with upstart Protestant Prussia for the control of Germany. In fact the mutual jealousy of these two states is the central theme of German history for the next one hundred years. It is only within the memory of living men (1866) that this chapter has been definitely closed by the final victory of Prussia and by the exclusion of Austria from Germany. In that famous settlement, introductory to the unification of Germany (1871), it is not difficult to perceive that Frederick had a hand.

The rivalry of Austria and Prussia.

¹ Maria Theresa did not die till 1780. She held the reins of government till her death, but naturally her son Joseph, who succeeded his father Francis I. as emperor in 1765, largely influenced her councils.

CHAPTER V

* # ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The result of the "Glorious Revolution."

THE "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 ended the period of the civil wars in England. It had established the Protestant sovereigns, William and Mary, upon the throne; it had, by the Bill of Rights, defined the respective spheres of king and Parliament, thus rendering future attempts on the part of the monarch to make himself absolute, impossible; and it had paved the way to an understanding between the Established Church and the Dissenters by the Toleration Act. Thus the English monarchy had at last been set upon the path of genuine constitutionalism.

William introduces a new foreign policy.

For the first few years of his reign, William had to secure his throne by fighting. James II. had sought refuge with Louis XIV., and the decision of the French king to espouse the cause of James naturally threw England on the side of the allies, consisting of the emperor, the Dutch, and Spain, with whom Louis had just engaged in the war known as the War of the Palatinate (1688-97). This was the first time that England had reached out a hand to the powers of the Continent to help them against the continued aggressions of Louis XIV. Her national interests had long ago demanded that she associate herself with the enemies of France, but it was one of the penalties she paid for putting up with Stuart rule, that she was not governed for her own, but for dynastic ends. It is the great merit of William to have amalgamated the interests of the nation and the interests of the monarchy, and to have given a direction

Rivalry of France and England.

References for England in 18th C.: Gardiner, ch. XLII. - LIV. - (S.H.)

* England ent'd. from p. 199.
France 214.
Hallam, 2nd. edn., ch. IV., note 1.
v Ransome, Book VII., ch. VII.
Ransome, ch. VII.

to English affairs which was steadily maintained during the next century, and ended not only with checking the ambition of France on the Continent, but also in wresting from her her best colonies, and the undisputed supremacy of the seas.

The War of the Palatinate has been dealt with elsewhere in connection with Louis XIV. ; one chapter of it, however, the insurrection of Ireland, must be embodied in the history of William's reign. In March, 1689, James II. landed in Ireland, and immediately the Irish, who were enthusiastic Catholics, gathered around him. To them James II. was the legitimate king, while to the English and Scotch settlers of Ireland, who sympathized with Protestant William, he was no better than a usurper. Again the terrible race-hatred of Celt and Saxon flamed up in war. The Protestants were driven from their homes, and for a time it looked as if the island would fall back to its original owners. However, on July 1, 1690, William defeated James II. at the battle of the Boyne. James, who was a poor soldier, thereupon hurried back to France, shamefully abandoning to the English mercies the people who had risen for his crown. The measures now taken by William and his successors against the Irish broke their resistance to English rule for a hundred years.

(p. 208)
William conquers Ireland.

Battle of the Boyne, 1690.

It will be well, before we speak of these measures, to review the relations of England and Ireland during the whole seventeenth century. When James I. mounted the throne, Ireland had been a dependency of the English crown for many centuries—but hardly more than a nominal one, for the English rule and law extended over no more than a few districts of the eastern coast, known as the English pale. The heart of the island was held by the native tribes, who, governed by their chiefs, in accordance with their own Brehon laws, were, year in year out, as good as indepen-

The relation of England and Ireland.

dent. Now in the last years of Elizabeth, there had taken place the great rising of O'Neill, the chief of an Ulster tribe, and when it was finally smothered under James, James found himself master of all Ireland. He was the first English monarch who could boast of this distinction, and he immediately celebrated his triumph by ruthlessly confiscating six counties in the province of Ulster, and handing them over to English and Scotch colonists (1610). The Irish were simply crowded out, with no more said than that they must seek subsistence elsewhere. The act of 1610 created an implacable hatred between oppressors and oppressed.

The policy
of confiscation
under
Cromwell
and William.

In the year 1641, when the troubles between king and Parliament temporarily annihilated the power of England, the Irish fell upon the colonists of Ulster, and murdered them or drove them from their homes. The English revenge for this outrage had of course to be delayed until the execution of the king and the victory of the Parliament had re-established the authority of the nation. At length, in 1649, Cromwell undertook to reconquer Ireland. He was successful, but, as he himself confessed, imbued his hands with blood like a common butcher. To understand the massacres indulged in by the Puritan soldiery, it is necessary to remember, that, to a Puritan, an Irishman was not only a national enemy but also a Papist—that is, an enemy of the true faith. As such, all Irishmen were simply regarded as standing outside of the law of humanity. Without any consideration of the results, therefore, three of the four provinces of Ireland, Ulster, Leinster, and Munster, were now confiscated for the benefit of the English. The Irish were bidden to go find bread, or else a grave, in the wilderness of Connaught. When William III. overthrew the next insurrection at the battle of the Boyne (1690), the policy of confiscation was applied to most of Connaught too. Therewith the Irish had become a landless people in

their own land. As if that were not misery enough, the English Parliament, by its legislation under William and his immediate successors, deprived the island of its commerce and its industry as well, by forbidding it to carry on trade with other countries. Thus, by a merciless application of the rights of conquest, the Irish were gradually reduced to becoming tenants, day-laborers, and beggars, and tenants, day-laborers, and beggars they have remained to this day.

It has already been said that William's great merit as sovereign of England was that he enabled her to follow her natural inclination and range herself with the enemies of Louis XIV. He gave all his life as English sovereign to creating a system of balance to the power of France. This system he discovered in the alliance of England, the emperor, and the Dutch, and it was this alliance which waged the War of the Palatinate (1689-97), with the result that Louis XIV. drew off, at the Peace of Ryswick, without a gain. William spent the next years in negotiating with Louis an equitable division of the expected Spanish heritage; but when, in the year 1700, the king of Spain, Charles II., died, Louis XIV. cut short the argument, by sending his grandson, Philip, to Madrid to assume the rule of the undivided Spanish dominions. Out of this wanton act grew the War of the Spanish Succession, for which William had hardly prepared, by a renewal of his continental alliances, when he died (1702). His wife, Mary, having died some years before (1694), without issue, the crown now passed, by virtue of the Act of Settlement* (1701), to Mary's sister Anne. The Act of Settlement further provided, with regard to the succession, that, in case of Anne's death without heirs, the crown was to pass to the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her descendants, the principle which determined the

William labors
to check
France.

1697
see p. 209

" " 210

" " "

The Act of
Settlement,
1701.

*see Hallam, ch. XV. (pp. 562-72).

selection of Sophia being that she was the nearest Protestant heir.¹

Growth of
Parliament;
decline of
king.

William's reign is constitutionally very interesting. Although the Parliament, as we have seen, had won in the long struggle with the king, it was not inclined, for that reason, to rest upon its laurels. It now proceeded to reap gradually the harvest of its victory. From William's time on we have, therefore, to notice a continual enlargement of the sphere of the Parliament, accompanied by a proportionate restriction of the sphere of the king, until we arrive at the condition which obtains in this century, when the sovereign of England is hardly more than a sovereign in name.

Freedom of
the press.

A number of acts, passed under William, prepared this development. We notice of them only the more important.* First to consider is the removal of all restrictions weighing on the freedom of the press (1695); henceforth there obtained in England that state of free opinion which is the necessary concomitant of free government. Secondly, we note that William's Parliaments fell into the habit of making their money-grants for one year only—which custom had the consequence of necessitating annual Parliaments, since the king's officers were not qualified to collect a revenue that had not first been regularly voted. From William's time on, therefore, the king's old trick of getting rid of Parliament by indefinite adjournment, had to be abandoned.

Annual vote
of supplies.

The War of
the Spanish
Succession.

The event of the reign of Anne (1702-14), overshadowing all others, was the War of the Spanish Succession.

It has been treated elsewhere. England won therein a leading position among the powers of Europe. But Marlborough's march of victory from Blenheim to Malplaquet did not excite universal approval in England. The Tories,

¹ See genealogical chart.

*Ransome, *St. VII. ch. VIII.*,
William, ch. XVI., and

*For other important measures, such as: Mutiny Act, origin of party govt., founding of the Natl. Debt, 4 of the Bank of Eng., Recoinage, & the Triennial Act. (See Ransome, *ch. VII.* of *St. VII.*)

Morris, *The Age of Anne*.

pp. 210-12

who were recruited largely from the gentry, had never looked upon the war with favor. As the taxes grew heavier and the national debt became more burdensome, an increasing part of the population rallied to the opposition. It was with the aid of the Whigs, who were in control of the ministry, and of the duchess of Marlborough, who controlled the easy-going, good-natured queen, that the duke was enabled to carry on his campaigns in the Netherlands and Germany. However, the duchess, being a high-strung and arrogant lady and not always capable of holding her tongue, gradually fell out of favor, and in 1710 the queen, having become disgusted with the whole Whig connection, abruptly dismissed the Whigs from office. There followed a ministry of Tories*, with a policy of peace at any price, and the result was that Marlborough was disgraced, and that England signed with France, in 1713, the Peace of Utrecht. Although the peace involved a breach of faith toward the allies, and although the negotiators did not get all they might have had, some of the results of the war could not be sacrificed. England acquired from France, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson Bay territory; from Spain, Gibraltar and Minorca; but, best of all, she could now count herself without a rival upon the sea.

*For arguments for
against
the signing of this
peace by
England,
see Hallam
pp. 692-7
(5th. edn.)*

An event of Anne's reign, which, although not much noticed, was hardly less important than the War of the Spanish Succession, was the union with Scotland. Since the accession of James I., Scotland and England had had the same sovereigns, but, for the rest, had remained jealously independent of each other under separate Parliaments and separate laws. In 1707 the century-old suspicion between the two nations was forgotten long enough for an agreement to be arrived at, by which the two Parliaments were merged in one. Scotland henceforth sent her representatives to the House of Lords and House of Commons

Union with
Scotland,
1707.

** and the House of Lords was
made Tory by the creation of twelve
new Tory Peers (Dec., 1711).*

at Westminster, and the two nations accepted the same lot in good and evil fortune.

Accession of
the House of
Hanover.

In the year 1714, Anne died, and the crown fell to the House of Hanover. The Electress Sophia, who had been designated by the Act of Settlement as the eventual heir, having preceded Anne in death, her son, George I., now ascended the throne. Some great stroke on the part of the Pretender[✓], the son of James II., was expected, but when it fell (1715), it turned out to be harmless. The man who claimed to be James III. had hardly landed when his courage failed him, and he turned back to France.

Rule of the
Whig aris-
tocracy.

George I.^{*} (1714-27), immediately dismissed from office the Tories, who were known to be favorable to the Stuarts, and chose his advisers from among the Whigs. He clung to the Whigs for the rest of his life, and so introduced that government of the Whig aristocracy, which is one of the leading features of the constitutional history of the eighteenth century.

Development
of cabinet
government.

This prolonged power of a single party helped Parliament in taking another step toward acquiring complete control of the state; with George I. is associated the beginning of cabinet government. We have already seen that, as far back as Charles II. the Parliament was divided into Whigs and Tories. As things stood then, though the majority of the Commons were Tory, the king could continue to choose his ministry from the Whigs. Sooner or later it was bound to appear that such a division was harmful, and that to attain the best results the ministry would have to be in accord with the majority of the Commons. The reform meant a new loss of influence by the king, but under George I. the development was duly effected.[#] Henceforth the ministry was still named by the king, but, as no set of men, who had not first assured themselves that they were supported by a majority in the Commons, would accept the

* Ransome, *Bk. VIII.*, ch. I.; Morris:
Hallam, ch. XVI. *The Early Hanoverian*

† i.e., James Edward, the "Old Pretender".

Ransome (l. 157) begins his unit in 1693-95.

appointment, the Parliament practically dictated the king's cabinet. With the annual vote of supplies, and with cabinet and party rule established as practices of the English Government, the constitution may be said to have reached the character which distinguishes it to-day.

George's reign was a reign of peace. It furnished just the opportunity which the Whigs wanted to develop the prosperity of the great middle class, upon which they depended against the combination of Tory squire and Tory clergyman. The leading man among the Whigs, and author of their policy, was Sir Robert Walpole. One may sum up his ideas by saying that he wished to settle England under the Hanoverian dynasty, and give free play to the commercial and industrial energy of his countrymen. The period which he directed is therefore well entitled the era of common sense. To carry out his programme, Walpole needed a steady majority in the Commons. He got it in part, at least, by corrupting members. "Every man has his price," was his cynical estimate of his countrymen. But there can be no doubt that more than to corruption, he owed his long lease of power to the popularity which he acquired by keeping his policy in touch with the wishes of the people.

Walpole's rule of common sense.

See Green's Readings from Eng. Hist., No. 8 Macaulay's estimate of Walpole.

See Ransome App. 763-4 for the rise of Opposition in Parliament and for the first regular Opposition newspaper.

It was only when Walpole deliberately set himself against the people that he lost his hold. George I. had meanwhile been succeeded by George II. (1727-60). The new king was, like his father, without intelligence, but was possessed, like him, with a certain honesty and solidity. Under the direction of Walpole, he continued the peace policy of George I., until a succession of events plunged Europe again into war. In the year 1738, a storm of indignation swept over the English people at the restrictions which Spain had for ages been putting upon English trade with the Spanish colonies. Walpole, against his will, was forced to

War with Spain, 1739.

* Ransome, Bk. VII., ch. II.; Morris: The Hallam, ch. XVI. Early Hanoverians.

and the Mutiny Act.

#1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

War of
Penkin's Ear

England's war
merged in the
general war.

War of
the Austrian
Succession,
1740-48.

The War of
the Austrian
Succession
from the Eng-
lish point of
view.

Peace of
Aix la
Chapelle,
1748.

declare war (1739). The next year the continental powers became involved among themselves, owing to the death of Emperor Charles VI.* (1740) and the dispute about the Austrian succession. England, through her kings, who were also electors of Hanover, had an immediate interest in the Continent at this time. In fact, the connection of England and Hanover is of great consequence all through the eighteenth century. As England and Hanover offered help to Austria, when Maria Theresa saw herself attacked by her greedy and unscrupulous neighbors; and as Spain was allied with France, it became inevitable that the two wars, that of England and Spain, and that of Austria and France, should, though they had a distinct origin, be merged into one. There followed the general conflict, known as the war of the Austrian Succession (1740-48).¹ As Walpole was unsuited for an enterprise of this nature, and as, moreover, he stood personally for peace, his majority melted away, and, in 1742, he resigned. He had directed the destinies of England for twenty-one years (1721-42).

The War of the Austrian Succession, as far as England took a hand in it, was principally waged in the Austrian Netherlands, which France had invaded, and upon the seas, and in the colonies. On the seas the English maintained their old mastery, but in the Netherlands they and the Austrians lost ground, owing chiefly to the superior ability displayed by the French commander, Marshal Saxe. In 1745, the marshal won the great battle of Fontenoy, and overran all the Austrian Netherlands; but when peace was signed in 1748, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the powers one and all restored their conquests, an exception being made only in favor of Frederick of Prussia, who was allowed to retain Silesia.

¹ See page 239.

*see pp. 212 and 238

note: - The author has omitted mention of
the rise of Methodism in reign of Geo. II.,
" " " " the Evangelical Rev. in the
Church of England: a visit of Count de Belmon-
t.

A memorable incident of this war was the attempt of Charles Edward, son of the Pretender, and known as the Young Pretender, to win back his kingdom. The defeat of the British at the battle of Fontenoy was his opportunity. In July, 1745, he landed, with only seven men, in the Highlands of Scotland. The Highlanders were at this time still divided, as in ancient times, into clans, at the head of which stood hereditary chiefs. As Kelts, they were by no means friendly to the Teutonic Lowlanders of Scotland and to the English. Moreover, they were practically self-governed, and were subjected to the Hanoverian government at London in hardly anything more than name. That Prince Charlie, as the Young Pretender was fondly called, had thrown himself upon their mercy, touched their hearts and aroused their enthusiasm. The Highlanders flocking to him in crowds, he was soon enabled to take Edinburgh. For a moment now the government at London lost its head, but when the troops had been hurried home from the Netherlands, it was soon found that the wild courage of feudal clans was of no avail against the discipline of a trained army. On Culloden Moor (April, 1746) the Highlanders were defeated with fearful slaughter by the king's second son, the duke of Cumberland. Prince Charlie, after many romantic adventures, made his escape; but he lived ever afterward in indolence abroad, and gave no further trouble (d. 1788). His failure marks the last Stuart attempt to recover the throne.

The invasion
of the Young
Pretender,
1745.

While England, under Walpole, was preparing to assume the industrial leadership of the world, France was doing little or nothing to recover from the disasters of the War of the Spanish Succession.* When Louis XIV. died, in the year 1715, he was succeeded by his great-grandson Louis XV. (1715-74). As Louis XV. was but five years old at the time, the government during his minority was exercised in his name by the nephew of Louis XIV., Philip,

The Regency
in France.

* For France in the 18th century, see
~~Adams' Growth of the French Nation, ch. XIV.~~
~~Kitchin's Hist. of France, Book VI.~~
References on p. 266.

duke of Orléans. The Regent Orléans although a man of intelligence, was utterly debauched, and unable to contribute anything toward raising France from the miserable economical and financial condition into which the country had been plunged by Louis XIV.

Cardinal
Fleury.

Perhaps the one good point about the rule of the regent was, that he insisted on peace. But it was not enough to make him popular, and he died, regretted by no one, in the year 1723. Shortly after, Cardinal Fleury, the confidant of the young king, assumed control of affairs (1726-43), and though he reversed the regent's inner policy, and improved the finances and the administration, he clung to Orléans's policy of peace. When he finally declared war, it was only in obedience to circumstances which he could not control. In the year 1733 France became involved with Austria, because of the different sides taken by these two powers in the election of a Polish king. The so-called War of the Polish Succession (1733-35), which was the result, is wholly unmemorable, but for the acquisition by France of the duchy of Lorraine. Lorraine was still technically a member of the Empire, though the hold of France had been steadily tightening upon it during the last hundred years. Now it was definitely merged with the western kingdom, thereby completing the long list of conquests which France had been making from Germany since the time of Henry II. (1552).

War of the
Polish Succession
1733-35.

France
acquires
Lorraine.

The War of
the Austrian
Succession
from the
French point
of view.

In the year 1740, the death of the Emperor Charles VI. and the accession in Austria of the young girl Maria Theresa, so completely turned the head of the court party at Versailles, with the brilliant chance that the situation offered of war and conquest, that Cardinal Fleury had again to yield to his environment and declare war. The War of the Austrian Succession involved all Europe for eight years, as we have seen, but when it was closed by the Peace of

* Then about 15 yrs. of age.

On the deposition of Charles the Simple, King of France, about 925, Henry I. (the Fowler) succeeded in conquering Lorraine and attaching it to his crown. "From this moment," says

organic connection of Lorraine with Germany, which was to last many centuries.

Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), France recognized Maria Theresa, and withdrew without a gain.

As we approach the middle of the eighteenth century we notice that the old struggle of France for the supremacy in Europe enters upon a new stage. The remedy which William III. of England had proposed in order to meet this aspiration, the alliance, namely, of England, the Dutch, and Austria, had proved itself quite sufficient for checking French ambition on the Continent. It became an acknowledged fact—the war of the Austrian Succession had again proved it—that the military power of France was in decline. The Continent could at last forget its terror of the French name; the French armies had been repeatedly defeated and the French aggression on the Continent definitely checked. Moreover, the naval power of France had been destroyed as far back as the time of Louis XIV. But in spite of the precarious condition of the country, French colonial expansion went on all through the reign of Louis XV., and in North America and India was entering into sharp rivalry with England. The question which now arose was, whether a nation whose land-power had been checked and whose sea-power formed no threat, should be allowed to find compensation for its loss of influence by the acquisition of a colonial empire. Slowly, as the century advanced, the gaze of Frenchmen and of Englishmen turned across the seas, and slowly the centre of interest, which in the long struggle of France for supremacy in Europe had been the Continent, shifted from the Continent to the colonies.

The rivalry
of France
and England.

Such change of interest gradually involved a subtle change of international relationships in Europe. In measure as France withdrew from her aggression against her continental neighbors, she conciliated her enemy Austria, and in measure as she emphasized her colonial ambition,

England and
Austria dis-
solve partner-
ship.

she aroused the increased hostility of England. Thus, by the gradual operation of circumstances, England and France had, toward the middle of the eighteenth century, been brought face to face to fight out the great question of supremacy in the colonial world; and in this colonial question, Austria, the old ally of England against France, had no immediate interest. Was Austria or any other continental power likely, under the circumstances, to take part in the war?

Prussia sides
with England,
Austria with
France.

The war between France and England which followed, called the Seven Years' War (1756-63), is properly the most important struggle of the century, for it determined whether America and India were to be French or English. But though the Continent had no immediate interest in the colonial question, it nevertheless participated in this war. That was owing to the circumstance that the German powers, Austria and Prussia, had a quarrel of their own to settle, and that by choosing sides in the French-English conflict, Prussia allying herself with England and Austria herself with France, they brought about a fusion of two distinct issues.

The Seven
Years' War,
1756-63.

France made great sacrifices in the Seven Years' War to maintain her power. She sent an army over the Rhine to co-operate with the Austrians against the Prussians and the English, and she prepared to defend herself with might in America and on the sea. Unfortunately she was governed by an ignorant and vicious king, who was too feeble to persist in any policy, and who was no better than the puppet of his courtiers and his mistresses. The real direction of French affairs during the war lay in the hands of Madame de Pompadour.

Pitt, captain
of England.

While government was thus being travestied in France, the power in England fell into the hands of the capable and fiery William Pitt, known in history as the Great Com-

moner. He now organized the strength of England as no one had ever organized it before. Fleets and armies were equipped and dispatched in accordance with a simple and comprehensive plan to all parts of the world. Under these circumstances, victory necessarily fell to England. The French army in Germany was badly beaten by Frederick the Great at Rossbach (1757), and later held in effective check by the English and Hanoverian forces under Ferdinand of Brunswick. But the most signal advantages of the English were won not in Europe but on the sea and in the colonies. First, the French were driven from the basin of the Ohio (1758).¹ In the next year Wolfe's capture of Quebec secured the course of the St. Lawrence, and therewith completed the conquest of Canada. Furthermore, in India, the celebrated Lord Clive (victory of Plassey, 1757), crowded out the French and established the English influence, while the great maritime victories (1759) of Lagos and Quiberon confirmed England's ancient naval greatness.

English victories.

In the year 1760, while the war was at its height, George II. died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. (1760-1820). George III. had one leading idea, which was to regain for himself the place in the government which had been usurped by the Parliament. So completely was he absorbed by this policy, that the war had only a secondary interest for him. He therefore dismissed Pitt, who was identified with the war, from office (1761), and shortly after ordered Lord Bute, a minister of his own independent appointment, to conclude peace with France. Although the English negotiators, in their haste

George III.,
1760-1820.

Peace of Paris
1763.

¹ The French had claimed the whole Mississippi basin, and in order to shut out the English had built a fort on the upper Ohio. In 1755 General Braddock was sent out to destroy the French fort, but refusing to be guided by the advice of the Virginian officer, George Washington, was badly beaten. When the French fort was finally taken, it was re-baptized Pittsburg, in honor of England's great minister.

* *Ransome, Book VII., chs. III. & IV.*

PERIOD III

THE POLITICAL REVOLUTIONS AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EUROPEAN STATES; FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN (1789-1878)

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CHAPTER I

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION (1789-1815)

The condition of France at the end of the eighteenth century.

If the seventeenth century, which recalls the names of Richelieu, Colbert, and Louis XIV., was the period of the expansion of France, the eighteenth century*, associated with such names as the Regent Orléans, Louis XV., and Madame de Pompadour, proved the period of French decay. We have just seen that the Seven Years' War all but completed the ruin of the kingdom; the defeats of the armies of France in Germany destroyed her military prestige, and her maritime disasters overthrew her naval power and deprived her of her colonies. But the loss of her great position was not the worst consequence of the Seven Years' War. France found herself, on the conclusion of the Peace of Paris (1763), in such a condition of exhaustion, that it was doubtful, even to patriots, whether she would ever recover health and strength.

Decay due to system of government.

The case, at first sight, seemed anomalous. Here was a country which, in point of natural resources, had the advantage over every other country of Europe; its population, which was estimated at 25,000,000, was greater than that of any rival state; and the mass of the nation had no cause to fear comparison with any other people, as regards industry, thrift, and intelligence. If this people so constituted tottered in the second half of the eighteenth century on the verge of disruption, that circumstance cannot be ascribed to any inherent defect in the nation. It was due solely to the break-down of the system of government and of society, which bound the nation together.

* For France in the 18th century, see Kitchin's Hist. of France, Books VI. Adam's Growth of the French Nation, chs. XIV. & XV. Lavallée's The End of the Fr. Revolution. [Taine's

For France in the 18th century, see Kitchin's Hist. of France, Books VI. Adam's Growth of the French Nation, chs. XIV. & XV. Lavallée's The End of the Fr. Revolution. [Taine's

MacLennan, Wife of
MacLennan, Wife of
MacLennan, Wife of

For Colbert's references to this ch., see Stephens' Revolu- tionary Europe, ch. I. & II.

Decay due to system of government.
For France in the 18th century, see Kitchin's Hist. of France, Books VI. Adam's Growth of the French Nation, chs. XIV. & XV. Lavallée's The End of the Fr. Revolution. [Taine's

The reader is acquainted with the development of the absolute power of the French king. The king had absorbed, gradually, all the functions of government. In fact, as Louis XIV. himself had announced, the king had become the state.¹ The local administration, once the prerogative of the nobility, had, with the overthrow of the nobility in the seventeenth century, been transferred to royal appointees, called *intendants*; the feudal Parliament, or States-General, had fallen into abeyance; and whenever the supreme law-courts of the realm, known as *parlements*, tried by refusing to register a royal decree to exercise the small measure of power which they possessed, the king cowed them by a *lit de justice*. In an address delivered on the occasion of such a *lit de justice* (1766), Louis XV. could, without fear of contradiction, make the following assertion concerning the royal prerogative: "In my person resides the sovereign authority. I hold the legislative power and share it with no one. The entire public life is sustained by me."

The king is the state.

It is plain that such extensive duties devolving on the king, only a very superior monarch was capable of holding and giving value to the royal office. Louis XIV. never failed at least in assiduity. But his successor, Louis XV., who was weak and frivolous, and incapable of sustained work, shirked the exercise of the powers which he none the less claimed as his due. Instead of laboring in his cabinet, he allowed his time to be monopolized by hunts and spectacles, and his vitality to be consumed by entertainments frequently prolonged to revolting orgies. The result was that the business of governing fell to a greedy horde of courtiers and adventuresses, who were principally concerned with fattening their fortunes, and who sacrificed with no

Louis XV.

¹ See Period II., Chapter II.

~~*The king is the state. B. R. H. H. H. H.~~

more regret than is expressed by a shrug of the shoulders and a laugh, every interest of the state.

The feudal orders become privileged orders.

If under Louis XV. the centralized monarchy progressively declined, the whole social fabric which that monarchy crowned, exhibited no less certain signs of decay and disruption. French society, like that of all Europe, had its starting-point in the feudal principle of class. In feudal times there had been recognized two great governing classes, the clergy and the nobility. In return for certain fundamental services rendered by them to society, such as instruction, spiritual comfort, administration of justice, and maintenance of the peace, they had been granted a personal direction of the subjects committed to their care, much like the authority which a father exercises over his children. The absolute monarchy of France had, to a greater extent than the monarchy of any other country, relieved the feudal orders of their duties; the monarchy had gradually taken it upon itself to administer justice and maintain peace. But the monarchy compensated the feudal orders for the loss of political influence, entailed by the sacrifice of their real functions, by leaving in their hands a great number of their old rights.* Thus the clergy and nobility were generally exempt from taxation. In the old feudal times, such exemption was the just recompense for specific services rendered to society. Now, although the services were rendered by the king, the feudal orders were still favored with the old freedom from taxation; consequently, what had once been an act of justice, had become an iniquity.

The army, the Church, and the administration reserved to the nobility.

We are now in a position to understand why the France of the eighteenth century was divided into privileged and unprivileged classes, or into subjects who paid, and into subjects who did not pay. Such a division was abominable, but the social injustice, existing in France, did not end

* i. e., privileges

here. Not only had the feudal orders become mere privileged orders, who did not contribute to the support of the government in a measure even approximately proportionate to their strength, but all the honors and emoluments of the monarchy were reserved to them. No least lieutenancy in the army, which the money of the commoners supported, was open to a son of a commoner, and neither the Church nor the government, except in rare instances, admitted into their service the man of humble birth.

The membership of the two orders to whom these extensive privileges were reserved, was not very large. The noble families numbered 25,000 to 30,000, with an aggregate membership of perhaps 140,000; and the clergy, including the various religious orders and the parish priests, had an enrollment of about as many names. These two castes between them owned about half the land of France, so that it could be fairly claimed by the indignant people that the principle of taxation which obtained in their country was: to relieve those who did not need relief, and to burden those who were already overburdened.

The numbers and the wealth of the privileged.

But if nobility and clergy were, comparatively speaking, very well off, their means were not sufficient to satisfy the demands which their style of life made upon their purses. The king required the nobles to live at court the greater part of the year; at Versailles and Paris they accordingly ruined themselves by maintaining great houses and indulging in fêtes, games of chance, and all the excitements of an idle society. The great Church dignitaries, who were, for the most part, younger sons of noble families, emulated and if anything outshone the secular nobility by the lavishness of their mode of life. The result was, that the court swarmed with a bankrupt aristocracy which lived from hand to mouth by means of pensions granted by the king out of the public treasury. These pensions, running up

Their mode of life.

into the millions, and lavished upon creatures whose only merit was, as a contemporary writer put it, "to have taken the trouble to be born," were the sorest affliction of the budget, and the least excusable factor contributing to the annual deficit.

The upper and
the lower
clergy.

There is no need to say that a hierarchy which recruited itself from the nobility, and like the nobility spent its days in hunting, gambling, and paying visits, was not suited to discharge its spiritual functions. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the mode of life of the higher clergy prevailed among the rank and file. In the provinces there were to be found priests on starvation salaries, who devoted themselves to their parish duties with mediæval fervor. These hardly felt that there was any bond between them and their noble superiors, while a thousand ties united them with the people from whom they were sprung. A notable consequence of this fact was, that when the revolution broke out, the lower clergy sided with the people against the privileged hierarchy.

The progress
of the Third
Estate.

The commoners, or members of the Third Estate (tiers état), who were shut out from the places of authority reserved to the first two estates of the realm, were reduced to finding an outlet for their energy in the field of business enterprise or else in literature. They succeeded in piling up wealth both in Paris and in the cities of the provinces, until their resources, constantly increased through thrift and hard work, far exceeded those of the nobility, who concerned themselves only with elegantly spending what they had and what they could borrow. Thus the bourgeoisie had long been better off than the nobility; and now they proceeded to surpass the nobility in other respects. For increase of wealth had brought increase of leisure and of the desire and power to learn and grow. So it happened that in the progress of the eighteenth century, the Third

Estate had fairly become the intellectual hearth of France. One need for proof look only at the great writers of the eighteenth century—for example, Voltaire and Rousseau; they are almost without exception of the middle class.

But if the bourgeoisie was doubtlessly prospering, the case was different with the vast majority of French subjects, who are often called the Fourth Estate, and who embraced the two utterly wretched classes of the urban proletariat and the peasants. The proletariat was composed of the artisans and day-laborers, and was the product of the new industrial system. Being of recent origin it was unorganized and consequently completely under the heel of the capitalist middle class. The middle class controlled the commercial and industrial situation by means of its guilds, and shut all but old bourgeois families out of them with as much zeal as the nobles displayed in keeping their ranks free from the defilement of citizen upstarts. With reference to the proletariat, the middle class was, in its turn, a privileged order, and we can easily understand that the oppression with which the bourgeoisie saddled the proletariat was filling that body with a ferment of increasing discontent.

The misery
of the labor-
ing class.

But the class of which the condition was most abject, was, undoubtedly, the peasants. Their obligations exceeded all justice and reason. The lord of the manor exacted rent from them; the Church levied tithes; and the king collected taxes almost at will. The result was that the peasants did not have enough left over from their toil to live on. Vast areas of the soil of France had, therefore, in the course of the last few decades been deserted by the peasants, and in some of the most fertile places famine had become an annual guest. An English gentleman, Arthur Young, who made a journey through France, just before the outbreak of the Revolution, was horrified by the bent, starved, and diseased figures which he encountered in all the villages. And if the reg-

The misery
of the peas-
antry.

ular taxes by any chance left anything in the hands of the peasants, that little was constantly jeopardized by certain remaining feudal obligations. Thus the lord of the land had the sole right to hunt, and the peasant was forbidden to erect fences to shut out the game from his fields. If the cavalcade from the château dashed over the young wheat in the spring, the peasant could do nothing but look on at the ruin of his year, hold his peace, and starve.¹

The demand
for reform.

A government struck with impotence, a society divided into discordant classes—these are the main features of the picture we have just examined. French public life in the eighteenth century had become intolerable. Dissolution of that life, in order that reform might follow, was patently the only possible escape out of the perennial misery. This the educated people began to see more and more clearly, and a school of writers, known as the philosophers, made themselves their mouthpiece.

The intellect-
ual revolt.

The eighteenth century is the century of criticism. Men had begun to overhaul the whole body of tradition in state, Church, and society, and to examine their institutional inheritances from the point of view of common sense. If things had been allowed to stand hitherto, because they were approved by the past, they were to be permitted henceforth only because they were serviceable, and necessary to the present. Reason, in other words, was to be the rule of life. This gospel, the philosophers spread from end to end of Europe. They opened fire upon everything that ran counter to reason and science—upon the intolerance of the Church, upon the privileges of the nobility, upon the abuse of the royal power, upon the viciousness of criminal justice, and a hundred other things.

¹ Other vexatious feudal dues were the *corvées* (compulsory mending of the roads), bridge-tolls, and the obligation to grind corn in the mill of the lord, and bake bread in his oven.

Although the revolt against the authority of tradition was universal in the eighteenth century, the leading names among the philosophers are those of Frenchmen. This in itself is an indication that France was the country most in need of a reign of reason. And of all the French philosophers, Voltaire ¹ and Rousseau ² carried on the most effective agitation in behalf of the new programme. By means of their work and that of their followers, it was brought about that long before the Revolution of 1789 there had occurred a revolution in the realm of ideas, by which the hold of the existing Church, state, and society on the minds of men had been signally loosened. All that the material Revolution of 1789 did was to register this fact in the institutions and in the laws.

The centre of the intellectual revolt is France.

A society which has become thoroughly discredited in the minds of those who compose it, is likely to fall apart at any moment, and through a hundred different agencies. The agency which directly led up to the French Revolution, and gave the signal, as it were, for the dissolution of the *ancien régime*, was the state of the finances. The debts of Louis XIV. had been increased by the wars and extravagances of Louis XV., and by the middle of the eighteenth century France was confronted by the difficulty of a chronic deficit. As long as Louis XV. reigned (1715-74), the deficit was covered by fresh loans. Although the device was dangerous, it did not arouse any apprehension in that monarch's feeble mind. "Things will hold together till

The chronic deficit.

¹ Voltaire (1694-1778), excelled in the use of mockery. He made the contemporary world ridiculous to itself. Because his writings were so specifically addressed to his own time, they have not all retained their interest. Perhaps his most valuable production is "l'Essai sur les Mœurs."

² Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78) was a Genevan by birth. In his "Émile" (a work on education) and his "Contrat Social" (a work on society), he preached the return from artificiality to nature. Both Voltaire and Rousseau were eloquent in their demand for civil and religious liberty.

destroyed

furnished theories the new

my death," he was in the habit of saying complacently, and Madame de Pompadour would add, nonchalantly, "After us the deluge."

The accession
of Louis XVI.

When Louis XVI. (1774-92) succeeded his grandfather, the question of financial reform would not brook any further delay. The new king was, at his accession, only twenty years old. He was honestly desirous of helping his people, but he had, unfortunately, neither the requisite energy nor the requisite intelligence for developing a programme, and carrying it through, in spite of opposition. His queen, Marie Antoinette, the daughter of Maria Theresa of Austria, was a lovely and vivacious creature, but as young and inexperienced as himself.

Attempts at
financial re-
form.

The fifteen years from Louis's accession to the outbreak of the Revolution (1774-89), constitute a period of unintermitted struggle with the financial distress. The question was how to make the revenues meet the expenditures. New taxes proved no solution. Excessive taxation had already reduced the country to starvation, and where there was nothing, no tax-gatherer's art could succeed in pressing out a return. Plainly the only feasible solution was reform. The lavish expenditure of the court would have to be cut down; the waste and peculation in the administration would have to cease; and the taxes would have to be redistributed, the burdens being put upon the shoulders that could bear them. For the consideration of these matters Louis at first called into his cabinet a number of notable men. Among his ministers of finance (*contrôleur général*) were the economist Turgot (1774-76), and the banker Necker (first ministry, 1778-81; second ministry, 1788-90). Both labored earnestly at reform, but both became the victims of the hatred of the courtiers and the nobles, who would neither consent to retrench their expenses nor give up their privileges.

Adams. 207
Fr. No. 15
reasons for
the extreme
character of
the Rev.
Universal
relief in ne-
cessary reform
National
experience,
depends on theories
Financial situation of gov. (2) Economic condition
country (3) Extreme inequalities (4) intellectual
movements (5) Influence of Eng and Amer. Rev.

For a few years after Necker's first dismissal, the government eked out an existence by means of loans. The persistent practice of this abuse, however, inevitably undermined the national credit. Toward the end of the eighties the king stared bankruptcy in the face. Since he was absolutely without further resource, he now resolved to appeal to the nation. The determination was in itself a revolution, for it contained the admission that the absolute monarchy had failed. In May, 1789, there assembled at Paris, in order to take counsel with the king about the national distress, the States-General of the realm.

The king appeals to the States-General.

The States-General were the old feudal Parliament of France, composed of the three orders, the clergy, the nobles, and the commons. As the States-General had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years, it was not strange that nobody was acquainted with their mode of procedure. So much was certain, however, that the assembly had formerly voted by orders, and that the action of the privileged orders had always been decisive.

The States-General formerly controlled by the feudal orders.

The first question which arose in the assembly was whether the feudal orders should be allowed this traditional supremacy in the new States-General. Among the members of the Third Estate, as the commons were called in France, there was, of course, only one answer. These men held that the new States-General were representative, not of the old feudal realm, but of the united nation, and that everybody, therefore, must have an equal vote. In other words, the Third Estate maintained that the vote should not be taken by order, but individually. As the Third Estate had been permitted to send twice as many delegates (six hundred) as either clergy or nobility (three hundred each), it was plain that the proposition of the Third Estate would give that body the preponderance. The clergy and nobility, therefore, offered a stubborn resistance; but, after a

The question whether the States-General are to be an ancient or a modern body.

and hard one. After this event moved easily and rapidly.

Ad. 1. 274.

self she
ready had
hesitantly
joined the
estate.

month of contention, the Third Estate cut the knot by boldly declaring itself, with or without the feudal orders, the National Assembly (June 17). Horrified by this act of violence the king and the court tried to cow the commons by an abrupt summons to submit to the old procedure, but when the commons refused to be frightened, the king himself gave way and ordered the clergy and nobility to join the Third Estate (June 27). Thus, at the very beginning of the Revolution, the power passed out of the hands of the king and feudal orders into the hands of the people.

(or Constituent)
The National Assembly (1789-91).
Political Reform

The National Assembly intelligent, but impractical.

+ Adams.
pp. 275-7.

The National Assembly, which was thus constituted to regenerate France, was composed of the most intelligent men whom France could then boast. Moreover, the members were animated by a pure enthusiasm to serve their country. In fact, it was impossible to live in that momentous year of 1789 without feeling that an unexampled opportunity had arrived for helping France and all mankind forward on the road of civilization. Something of this magnanimous spirit invaded the Assembly, and directed its labors from the first day. Unfortunately, a fatal defect more than counterbalanced this generous disposition. The Assembly was composed of theorists, of men who were inexperienced in the practical affairs of government, and was, therefore, calamitously prone to treat all questions which arose as felicitous occasions for the display of parliamentary eloquence.

May 6,
1789.

The leading men.

When the Assembly convened there existed as yet no political parties. But gradually parties began to form about the men who, by virtue of their talents, took the lead. Only a few of these can be pointed out here. There was the Marquis de Lafayette, who had won a great name for

* Kitchin's Hist. of France, Book VI, ch. VIII.

Mallet's The French Rev., chs. III. - VI.

Morris' " " " " II. & III.

Guizot's " " " " III.

* U. S. F. French
Rev., vol. 6.

himself in the American Revolution, and who, though a noble, sympathized with all the aspirations of the people. He was known to be generous, and, for the present, generosity sufficed to qualify him as a leader. No man during the first stage of the Revolution had a greater following within and without the Assembly. The best representative of the dogmatic and philosophical spirit of the Assembly was the Abbé Sieyès. He carried to absurd lengths the idea that government was a matter of paper decrees, capable of being fashioned after some new principle every day. Then there was the lawyer Robespierre, whose circle, though not large at first, made up for the smallness of its numbers by the stanchness of its devotion to the dapper little man who regarded it as his business to parade on all occasions a patriotism of an incorruptible Roman grandeur. But the man who rose head and shoulders above the rest of the Assembly was Count Mirabeau. Mirabeau was a born statesman, perhaps the only man in the whole Assembly who instinctively knew that a government was as natural and gradual a growth as a plant or a child. He wished, therefore, to keep the inherited monarchy intact, with just such reforms as would restore it to health and vigor. The strong constitutional monarchy, much stronger than that of England, was his ideal. Unfortunately, he never succeeded in acquiring a guiding influence. In the first place, he was a noble, and therefore subject to suspicion; then his early life had been a succession of scandals, which now rose up and bore witness against him, undermining confidence in his honor.

The primary business of the National Assembly was the making of a new constitution.¹ It was of the highest importance that this work should be done in perfect security,

Degeneration
of the Revolution due to
the mob.

¹ For this reason the National Assembly is known also as the Constituent Assembly.

free from the interference of popular passion and violence. As the National Assembly represented the propertied interests, there seemed to be every chance of calm and systematic procedure; but unfortunately the Assembly soon fell under the domination of the mob, and that proved the ruin of the Revolution. The growth of the influence of the lower elements, who interpreted reform as anarchy, is the most appalling concomitant of the great events of 1789. If we understand this fact, we have the key to the awful degeneration of what certainly was, at its outset, a generous movement.

Growth of
anarchy.

For this degeneration the king and the commons were both responsible, as well by reason of what they did as of what they did not do. Let us understand that the sudden failure of absolutism in June, 1789, naturally threw France into unutterable confusion. Parisian mobs frequently fell upon and murdered the royal officials, while the peasants everywhere freely burnt and plundered the castles of the nobles. In view of these irregularities, king and National Assembly should have united to maintain order, but unite they would not, because the king, who was under the domination of Marie Antoinette and the court, distrusted the Assembly, and because the Assembly feared the designs of the court and the king.

Fall of the
Bastille,
July 14.

And in fact, early in July, it was discovered that the court was plotting to dissolve the Assembly, and overawe the Parisians by the concentration of troops. At this news a tremendous excitement seized the people. Armed crowds gathered in the streets, and clamorous to teach the court a lesson, threw themselves upon the Bastille, the ancient state prison and royal fortress in the heart of Paris. After a bloody encounter with the royal troops, they took the gloomy stronghold, and in their fury razed it to the ground (July 14).

↓ dismissal of Necker angered the people

The fall of the Bastille was celebrated throughout France as the end of tyranny and the dawn of a new era of brotherly love. And in truth there was much suggestive of a new and promising beginning in the destruction of a monument which had been the witness of the brutalities of mediæval justice, and of the wanton oppression of the absolute king. Now indeed we know that July 14 was far from being the birthday of liberty, equality, and fraternity; but it is not difficult to understand why the French people, cherishing the memory of that generous illusion, should have made July 14 their national holiday.

Expected reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity.

The king at Versailles did not misread the lesson which the episode of the Bastille pointed. All thought of using violence was temporarily dropped, and the irreconcilables of the court party, with the king's brother, the count of Artois, at their head, left France in disgust. Thus began the so-called emigration, which, continuing for the next few years, soon collected on the borders of France, chiefly along the Rhine, hundreds and thousands of the old privileged classes, who preferred exile to submission to the new system.

The emigration.

Thus the storming of the Bastille promised at first to clarify the situation. Again the king made his bow to the Revolution: he paid a formal visit to Paris as a pledge of reconciliation, and was received with acclamations of joy. The well-to-do citizens in return seemed to be determined to have done with violence and follow the way of sensible reform. They organized a militia, called the National Guard, in order to secure Paris from the excesses to which the city had lately been exposed, and made the popular Lafayette commander. Unfortunately the condition of the capital was most precarious. The multitude of the idle was growing in numbers every day, and their misery, which the general stoppage of business steadily sharpened, was

The National Guard and Lafayette.

On the night of the 4th of August the nobles and clergy in the assembly renounced their feudal rights. From the 5th of May to the 5th of August

pushing them to the brink of savagery. It was a question whether Lafayette, with his citizen-guard, would be willing or able to chain the mob when passion should transform it into a wild beast.

The events
of October 5
and 6.

The test came soon enough. In October, the rumor of another plot, on the part of the remnant of the court party, ran through Paris. Excited men and women told each other that, at a banquet of officers, held at the palace of Versailles, the new tricolor¹ cockade had been trampled under foot, and the health of the king and queen drunk, amidst scenes of wild enthusiasm. What really happened was perfectly justifiable, but suspicion of the king and court had sunk so deeply into the hearts of the Parisians that every disparagement of the monarch, however silly, was sure to be believed. Demagogues announced that the king was the cause of the famine in the city, and that he and the court intercepted the grain-carts outside of Paris, in order that the patriots might starve. On the morning of October 5, 10,000 women, fierce and haggard from long suffering, set out for Versailles to fetch the king to Paris. As they straggled over the dusty roads all the male and female riff-raff of the suburbs joined them. In the face of this tremendous danger Lafayette, the commander of the militia and guardian of the civil order, did nothing. If, as is now supposed, he remained inactive, in order to get the king into his power, an indelible stain attaches to his character. Certain it is, that it was only when the National Guard refused to wait longer that he consented to conduct it to Versailles, and preserve peace. When he arrived there in the night, some hours after the women, he found everything

¹ The tricolor was the insignia of the new National Guard. It was formed by adding to the blue and the red, the colors of Paris, the white of the Bourbon kings. The tricolor became the emblem of the Revolution, and is now the national flag of France.

in the greatest confusion. By his timely intercession, however, he saved the lives of the royal family, and thus was enabled to pose in the gratifying rôle of preserver of the monarchy. But if the mob spared the king and queen, it declared firmly, at the same time, that it would be satisfied with nothing short of the removal of the king and the royal family to Paris. What could the king do but give his consent? On the 6th, the terrible mænads, indulging in triumphant song and dance along the road, escorted "the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy" to the Tuileries at Paris. The National Assembly, of course, followed the king, and was quartered in the riding-school, near the palace.

The king conducted to the Tuileries.

The events of October 5 and 6, in literal truth, ruined the monarchy, and Lafayette cannot escape the charge of having contributed in large measure to the result. The king at the Tuileries, indeed, if that was what Lafayette wanted, was now practically Lafayette's prisoner, but Lafayette himself, even though it took him some months to find it out, was henceforth the prisoner of the mob. The great October days had allowed "the patriots," as the mob designated itself, to realize their power, and having once tasted the sweets of violence, they would require more than Lafayette's energy to bring them back to a respect of the law. Henceforth, organized under clever and unscrupulous leaders, "the patriots" play the decisive rôle in the Revolution, gradually but resistlessly forcing the king, Lafayette, the National Assembly, and all the constituted authorities of France, to bow down before them to the dust.*

The mob henceforth supreme.

What greatly contributed to the power of the mob was the excitement and vague enthusiasm which possessed all classes alike. We must always remember, in order to understand the tremendous pace at which the Revolution de-

The clubs.

* See U. Z. P. Transcripts & Reprints, vol. I., No. 5, from Mirabeau's Memoir to the King, Oct. 15.

manded that they be admitted into the great body of French citizens on a basis of equality. August 4 is one of the great days of the Revolution.

Only one other burning question inherited from the *ancien régime* remained—the question of the finances. The general cessation of business which attended the Revolution contributed of course to the depletion of the treasury. In order to avoid bankruptcy, the National Assembly now confiscated the property of the clergy, valued at many millions, and began the issue against it of paper money called *assignats* (first issue, December, 1789). The *assignats* at the beginning formed a perfectly sound device, but owing to the continued needs of the treasury they were multiplied to such a degree that they represented soon only a portion of their face value, and, as the cheaper money, drove the gold and silver out of the country. The time, therefore, was not far off when it would take a bagful of *assignats* to buy a pair of boots. Under these conditions, the finances fell into frightful disorder, and through the permanent derangement of business contributed in no small measure to the increasing anarchy of the Revolution.

Financial disorders.

Assignats.

In the intervals of the discharge of the current business, the Assembly deliberated concerning the future constitution of France.* By slow degrees that creation † marched during the succeeding months to completion. Of course it is not possible to examine it here in any degree of detail. If we remember that it was the work of men who had suffered from an absolute executive, and were under the domination of the dogmatic philosophy of the eighteenth century, we shall understand its principal feature. This feature of the new constitution was that the legislative branch of the government was made superior to the executive branch. It was provided that the legislative function should be exercised by a legislature of one house elected for

The character
of the new con-
stitution. —

Stephens
Revolu'y
Europe
pp.
68-73.

* For Address of the Natl. Assembly to the French People, Feb. 11, 1790, see--

P.O.P. Transl's. & Reprints, vol. I., No. 5.

two years by all the active citizens¹ of the kingdom. Mirabeau, the great statesman of the Revolution, fought hard to preserve the king that measure of power which an executive requires in order to be efficient; but he was unappreciated by his colleagues and distrusted by the king, and in almost all important matters met defeat. Broken down by disappointment and reckless excesses he died (April, 1791), prophesying in his last days, with marvellous accuracy, all the ulterior stages of the Revolution.

Death of Mirabeau, April, 1791.

The death of Mirabeau was lamented generally as the loss to the Revolution of its greatest orator. Perhaps the king, who had been strongly drawn to the statesman during the last months of his life, was the only one to feel that Mirabeau's death meant much more—meant, in fact, the removal of the last gate which hemmed in the revolutionary floods. Ever since October 6, Louis had been the virtual prisoner of the populace, and had lost all influence on the shaping of events. The constitution, which in the spring of 1791 was nearing completion, and would soon be forced upon him, he regarded as intolerable. But as long as Mirabeau lived he retained some hopes of a change among the legislators in his favor. When Mirabeau's death robbed him of this illusion, it is not strange that his thoughts should have turned to flight as the only means of escaping from a position that was not only insufferable for him as ruler, but exposed his queen, his children, and all who were dear to him to daily and hourly insult.

The intolerable position of the king.

The attempted flight, June 20, 1791.

The flight of the king and the royal family was arranged with the greatest secrecy for the night of June 20. A little less delay at the post stations, or a little more care on the part of the king to keep himself in concealment, would

¹ Citizens were divided by this constitution into two classes: active and passive. Only the active class, composed of those who paid a certain small contribution, in the form of a direct tax, could vote.

The flight of the king divided opinion in Paris sharply. It gave the constitutional monarchists their first inkling that they had gone too far. A monarch was necessary to their constitutional fabric, and here they beheld their chosen monarch refusing to serve their plan. They began in consequence to exhibit suddenly for the captive and disarmed Louis a consideration which they had never accorded him in the days when he still had favors to dispense. The democrats, on the other hand, such as Danton and Robespierre, regarded the flight as a welcome pretext for proclaiming the republic. A struggle followed (July, 1791), the most ominous which Paris had yet witnessed ; but the monarchists were still a majority, and by ordering out the National Guard against the rioters, won a victory.* The Assembly, on hearing from the king that he had never meant to leave the soil of France nor employ force against his subjects, solemnly welcomed him back to office ; and Louis, in return, to mark his reconciliation with his subjects, accepted and swore to observe the constitution. The Assembly was pleased to imagine that it had, by its magnanimous reinstatement of the king, settled all the difficulties of the situation. On September 30, 1791, the last artistic touches having been added to the constitution, it dissolved itself, and retired from the scene. Its strenuous labors of two years, from which the enthusiasts had expected the renovation of old Europe, culminated in the gift to the nation of the completed liberal constitution.† The question

The king rëin-
stated.

The Assembly
dissolves it-
self, 1791.

For outlin
of the lea
stitution 2
See Steph
Revoly. Cu
Vp. 63-

* Hon Marat's Protest ag't. firing of the U.S.,
see Extract from Marat's Ami du Peuple,

V. of P. Translato. Reprints, vol. I., no. 5.

See .. " " " " " " " " " " " "

now was: would the vaunted constitution at length inaugurate the prophesied era of peace and happiness?

*The Legislative Assembly (October 1, 1791, to September 21, 1792). **

Inexperience
of the new
legislature.

The answer to the above question would depend largely upon the First Legislative Assembly, which, elected on the basis of a new constitution, met the day after the National Assembly adjourned. By a self-denying ordinance, characteristic of the mistaken magnanimity which pervaded the National Assembly, that body had voted the exclusion of its members from the Legislative Assembly. The seven hundred and forty-five new legislators of France were, therefore, all men without experience. That alone constituted a grave danger, which was still further increased by the fact that the prevailing type of member was that of the young enthusiast, who owed his political elevation to the oratorical vigor he had displayed in his local Jacobin Club.

The majority
is republican.

The dangerous disposition of the Assembly became apparent as soon as the members grouped themselves in parties. Only a small fraction, called the *Feuillants*, undertook to support the constitution. The majority, composed of the two parties of the *Gironde*¹ and the *Mountain*,² favored the establishment of a republic. From the first day, the Assembly set deliberately about destroying the monarchy. The stages by which it accomplished its work of ruin we need not here consider, but the supreme blow against the king was delivered when he was forced to declare war against Austria; and except for this declaration,

¹ So called from the fact that the leaders of the party hailed from the department of the Gironde.

² This party owes its name to the circumstance that its members took their seats in the Assembly upon the highest tiers of benches.

* *Kitchin, Book VI., ch. VIII.*
Mallet, ch. VII.
Morris, chs. IV. & V.
~~*Anderson, ch. I. & II.*~~

which marks a new mile-stone in the Revolution, we can almost forget the Legislative Assembly entirely.

The declaration of war against Austria was the consequence of the menacing attitude toward France of the French *émigrés*, under the leadership of the count of Provence and the count of Artois, the two brothers of the king, and of the rising disquiet of monarchical Europe over the excesses of the Revolution. The Emperor Leopold II. was naturally alarmed by the situation of his sister Marie Antoinette and of her children; but, as a prudent man, he was far from desirous of engaging in a war on her account. The Assembly knew of his sympathies for the French royal family,* and chose to consider him, moreover, the special patron of the *émigrés*. Thus the suspicion in which the republicans held the emperor mounted continually, and when, upon repeated requests, Leopold refused to show an exemplary rigor against the *émigrés*, who were scattered in armed troops along the Rhine, the Assembly, in a passion, declared war (April 20, 1792).

The Assembly declares war against Austria, April, 1792.

Unfortunately, the capable Leopold had died a month before the declaration was made, and it was his incapable son, Francis II. (1792-1835), who was called to do battle with the Revolution. But Leopold had before his death made some provision against the eventuality of war with France. In February, 1792, frightened by the dangers to the cause of monarchy lurking in the Revolution, he had persuaded Frederick William II. of Prussia to league himself with him in a defensive alliance. The declaration of April 20 brought, therefore, not only Austria, but also Prussia, into the field. Thus began the Revolutionary Wars which were destined to carry the revolutionary ideas to the ends of the earth, to sweep away landmarks and traditions, and to lock old Europe in death-grapple with new France, for over twenty years.

The war destined to become general.

* For the Dec. of Pilnitz, see M. of P. Transac. & Reprints, Vol. I., No. 8.

French
defeats.

There can be no doubt that the republican Girondists, who were the real originators of the war, expected an easy victory. They saw, in a vision, the thrones of the tyrants shaking at the irresistible onset of the revolutionary ideas, and themselves hailed everywhere as the liberators of the human race. But the first engagement brought a sharp disappointment. The undisciplined French forces, at the mere approach of the Austrians, scampered away without risking a battle, and when the summer came it was known that the Austrians and Prussians together had begun the invasion of France. At this unexpected crisis wrath and terror filled the republicans in Paris. They began to whisper the word treason, and soon their orators dared to denounce the king publicly, and in the vilest language, as the author of the French defeats. Every day brought the Prussian van nearer Paris; every day added to the excitement of the frightened citizens. When the duke of Brunswick, the Prussian commander-in-chief, threatened, in a silly proclamation, to wreak vengeance on the capital, if but a hair of the king's head were injured, the seething passion burst in a wave of uncontrollable fury. In the early morning of August 10, the mob, organized by the republican leaders, marched against the Tuileries to overthrow the man whom the orators had represented as in league with foreign despots against the common mother, France.

Blame put on
the king.

Events of Au-
gust 10, 1792.

When, during the night, the signal bells from the steeples rang out the preconcerted summons over the city, the king and his family knew that the supreme struggle had come. Dispersed about in small groups, the palace inmates passed the night discussing the chances of the coming day. Of all the soldiers, a regiment of mercenary Swiss could alone be counted on. The resolution taken in this supreme moment to win or die at the head of this faithful guard, might have restored confidence in the king; but Louis XVI. was

the last man to be moved by a heroic impulse. If there had ever been one settled determination in his breast, it was that no French blood should flow for him in civil war. At eight o'clock in the morning, seeing that the mob was making ready to storm the palace, he abandoned it to seek shelter in the Legislative Assembly. The Swiss guard, deserted by their leader, made a brave stand. Only on the king's express order did they give up the Tuileries, and attempt to effect a retreat. But the odds were against them. The enraged populace fell upon them and butchered most of them in the streets.

Meanwhile the Assembly was engaged in putting its official seal to the verdict of the mob. With Louis himself present, the members voted the suspension of the king, and ordered the election of a National Convention to consider the basis of a new constitution. The present Assembly agreed to hold over till September 21, the day when the new body was ordered to meet. Thus perished, after an existence of ten months, the constitution which had been trumpeted forth as the final product of human intelligence.

The suspension of the king left the government legally in the hands of the Legislative Assembly and of the ministry which the Assembly appointed. But as the capital was in the hands of the mob and the machinery of government paralyzed, it was found impossible to keep the real power from falling into the hands of the demagogues, who, on August 10, had had the courage to strike down the king. These victorious demagogues were identical with the Mountain party in the Assembly, and with the "patriots," who had just possessed themselves, by means of violence, of the city council or commune. The most prominent figures of this dread circle were Danton, Marat, and Robespierre, and these and their henchmen were the real sovereigns of France during the interlude from August 10, the day of the over-

Break-down of the monarchy and the constitution.

The government in the hands of the men of the Mountain.

throw of the monarchy, to September 21, the day of the meeting of the National Convention.

The Mountain
defends
France.

It was plain that the first need of France in this crisis was to beat back the invasion. The Mountain, therefore, made itself the champion of the national defense. Its orators steeled the hearts of the citizens by infusing into them an indomitable courage. "What do we require in order to conquer?" cried Danton from the tribune of the Assembly; "To dare, and dare, and dare again." The fatherland was declared in danger; all occupations ceased but those which provided for the necessities of life and furnished weapons of defense; finally, the whole male population was ordered under arms. Whatever we may think of this system of government by violence and frenzied enthusiasm, it certainly accomplished its first end: it put an army into the field composed of men who were ready to die, and so saved France.

Prussians de-
feated at
Valmy, Sep-
tember, 1792.

Slowly Danton's recruits checked the Prussian advance. Finally, on September 20, General Kellermann inflicted a defeat upon the Prussians at Valmy. In view of the lack of provisions and the incessant rains, Frederick William now lost courage, and unexpectedly gave the order to retreat. A few weeks later not a Prussian was left upon French soil.

The Septem-
ber massacres.

This really great achievement of the radical democrats was unfortunately marred by a succession of frightful crimes. To understand why these were perpetrated, we must once again picture to ourselves the state of France. The country was in anarchy; the power in the hands of a few men, resolute to save their country. They were a thoroughly unscrupulous band, the Dantons, the Marats, and their colleagues, and since they could not afford to be disturbed in their work of equipping armies by local risings among the supporters of the king, they resolved to cow the constitutionalists, still perhaps a majority, by a system of terror. They haled to the prisons all to whom the suspicion of being

devoted to the king attached, and in the early days of September they emptied the crowded prisons again by a deliberate massacre of the inmates. An armed band of assassins, regularly hired by the municipality, made the round of the prisons, and in the course of three days dispatched over two thousand helpless victims. Not a hand was raised to stop the hideous proceedings. Paris, to all appearances, looked on stupefied.

*The National Convention (September 21, 1792, to October 26, 1795).**

The short interlude of government by terror came to an end temporarily, when the National Convention met (September 21) and assumed control. The first act of this body was to declare France a republic. As the defeat of the Prussians at Valmy, which occurred about this time, was followed soon after by the repulse of the Austrians from the walls of Lille, France was freed from all immediate danger from without. Thus the Convention could turn its attention to internal affairs.

France is declared a republic.

In the precarious condition in which France then found herself everything depended upon the composition of the new governing body. It was made up of almost eight hundred members, all republicans; but they were republicans of various degrees of thoroughness. There were the two parties of the Gironde and the Mountain, known to us from the Legislative Assembly, and between them, voting sometimes with the Gironde, sometimes with the Mountain, but definitely attached to neither, was the Plain. The Girondists dreamed of a new Utopia, which was to be straightway realized by legislation; they wished to end the period of murders, and thus wipe away the stains which were beginning to attach to the name of liberty. The Mountainists were men of a more fierce and practical mood; they thought

The Gironde and the Mountain.

* Mallet, *ch.* VIII. — XI.

Morris, " V. — VII.

~~Madison, " IV. — VI.~~

Adams. *ch.* XVI

primarily of saving France from the foreigners, and were willing to sacrifice liberty itself to further that great end. The ideal of the former party was the *free* state, of the latter the *strong* state. Naturally the two governmental programmes, which were inherently antagonistic, began to clash as soon as the Convention was organized.

That the chasm between the Gironde and Mountain was absolutely unbridgeable was exhibited on the Convention's taking up its first important business, the trial of the king. Ever since August 10, the king and his family had been confined in the prison of the Temple. In December the deposed monarch was summoned before the bar of the Convention. The Girondists were anxious to save his life; but the Mountainists, backed by the threats of the mob, carried the Convention with them. By a vote of 366 to 355, the citizen Louis Capet, once Louis XVI., was condemned to death, and on January 21, 1793, he was executed on the guillotine. On that eventful day no hand was raised to save the monarch, who, however he may have failed in intelligence and energy, had always been faithfully devoted to the interests of his people.

The execution of the king raised a storm of indignation over Europe, and a great coalition, which every state of importance joined*, sprang to life for the purpose of punishing the regicides of the Convention. Thus the war with Austria and Prussia promised to assume immense proportions in the coming year. The members of the great coalition planned to attack France from every side, and humble her pride in one rapid campaign. The English were to sweep down upon her coasts, the Spaniards to cross the Pyrenees and attack France from the south, the Piedmontese to pour over the Alps at the southeast, and the Austrians and Prussians to operate in the eastern provinces, along the Rhine. Under these circumstances, the question of the defence of

Trial and
death of the
king.

Jan. 21,
1793.

The first coa-
lition against
France,

1793.

[For Second
Coalition,
see p. 309.]
[For Third
Coalition,
see p. 316.]

*This First Coalition included:

Austria, Prussia, England, Holland,
Sweden, Spain, Portugal, Piedmont,
Nabes and the Rhine, etc.

the French soil became again, as it had been in the summer of 1792, the supreme question of the hour. And it was plain that, in order to meet her enemies, who were advancing from every point of the compass, France would be required to display an almost superhuman vigor.

Overthrow of
the Gironde.

The new crisis quickly developed the animosities between Gironde and Mountain into implacable hatred. There can be no doubt that both sides were equally patriotic, but it was not now primarily a question of patriotism between them, but of the most practical means for meeting the threatening invasions. The philosophers of the Gironde insisted on presenting moral scruples, on spinning out endless debates; and because the case would not wait upon scruple or debate, the fanatics of the Mountain resolved to strike their rivals down. Mobs were regularly organized by Marat to invade the Convention, and howl at its bar for the heads of the Girondist leaders. Finally, on June 2, 1793, twenty-two of them, among whom were the brilliant orators Vergniaud, Isnard, Brissot, and Gensonné, were excluded from the Assembly, and committed to prison.

The fall of the mild-mannered Girondists meant the removal of the last check upon the ferocity of the Mountain. The government now lay in its hands to use as it would, and the most immediate end of government, the Mountain had always maintained, was the salvation of France from her enemies. To accomplish that great purpose, the Mountain now deliberately returned to the successful system of the summer of 1792—the system of terror. The phase of the Revolution, which is historically famous as the Reign of Terror (La Terreur)—it may profitably be called the Long Reign of Terror in order to distinguish it from the Short Reign of Terror of August and September, 1792—begins on June 2, with the expulsion from the Convention of the moderate element, represented by the Gironde.

The Mountain
supreme.

* In July of that year (1793) the Constitution of 1793 (republican) was drawn up & promulgated by the Deputies of the Mountain; but it was not put

*The Reign of Terror (June 2, 1793, to July 27, 1794)**

The Committee of Public Safety.

The Short Reign of Terror of the summer of 1792 was marked by two conspicuous features: first, an energetic defense of the French soil, and, secondly, a bloody repression of the oppositional elements in Paris. The Long Reign of Terror reproduces these elements merely developed into a system. What is more likely to secure an energetic defense than a strong executive? The Mountain, therefore, created a committee of twelve, called the Committee of Public Safety, to which it intrusted an almost unlimited executive power.* The Committee of Public Safety goes back in its origin to April, 1793; but the very fact that it does not acquire its sovereign influence until after the fall of the Gironde, proves how intimately it was associated with the Mountainist scheme of government.

Robespierre.

Of the Committee of Public Safety the most conspicuous figure was Robespierre. For this reason the whole period of the Terror is sometimes identified with his name. But Robespierre, if most in view, was by no means the most active of the members of the committee. He was indeed the hero of the mob and the Jacobins, and therefore was invaluable for the prestige of the executive; but the men of the committee who organized the armies and saved France were Carnot, Prieur, and Lindet.

Carnot, the great organizer.

During the prolonged internal convulsions, Carnot, Prieur, and Lindet quietly and unostentatiously did their duty. They organized the general levy, equipped the armies, appointed the generals, and mapped out the campaigns. If France was able to confront the forces of the coalition by armies, which soon exceeded the coalition in numbers,¹ and even before the end of 1793 checked the

¹ It is usually said that Carnot mobilized 1,000,000 soldiers. Even if the statement is an exaggeration, it argues, in any case, an immense success.

* See references p. 291.

A much larger Committee had previously been organized, known as the Committee of Public Safety.

- of the
the chief
engines of
the French
Rev. Com.
of Public Safety;
the whole
of the
being the
chief of the

armies of combined Europe at all points, this great feat may be written down primarily to Carnot and his two associates.

The executive having been thus efficiently provided for, it remained to systematize the repression of the anti-revolutionary elements. The machinery of the Terror, as this systematization may be called, presented, on its completion, the following constituents: First, there was the Law of the Suspects. By this unique measure the authorities were authorized to imprison anyone soever who was denounced to them as "suspect."¹ The iniquitous Law of the Suspects soon taxed the prisons to the utmost. To empty them was the function of the second element of the terrorist machinery, called the Revolutionary Tribunal. This was a special court of justice, created for the purpose of trying the suspects with security and dispatch. At first the Revolutionary Tribunal adhered to certain legal forms, but gradually it sacrificed every consideration to the demand of speed. The time came when prisoners were haled before this court in companies, and condemned to death with no more ceremony than the reading of their names. There then remained for the luckless victims the third and last step in the process of the Terror; they were carted to an open square, called the Square of the Revolution, and amidst staring and hooting mobs, who congregated to the spectacle every day, as to a feast, their heads fell under the stroke of the guillotine.

Before the Terror had well begun, one of its prime instigators, Marat, was overtaken by a merited fate. Marat was the mouth-piece of the utterly ragged and abject ele-

The machinery of the Terror.

1st.
The Law of the Suspects

2nd.
The Revolutionary Tribunal

3rd.
The Guillotine

Marat and Charlotte Corday.

¹ Almost incredible remains the definition of "suspect" furnished by this law. It reads: "Suspect are those . . . who speak mysteriously of the misfortunes of the Republic; who report bad news with an assumed air of grief; who do nothing for the cause of liberty," etc.

* *Marat. 9, 1793*

* The author has omitted the Law of the Maximum, a law fixing the maximum price at which various articles were to be sold: a violation of which, brought the offender to the guillotine.

Also, the Committees of General Security and Public Safety (See p. 101). There is a small sketch of Marat and Charlotte Corday.

ment of Paris. He had lately developed a thirst for blood, that passes all comprehension, and associates him forever in history with such names as Caligula and Nero. And yet this monster called himself and was hailed as "the friend of the people." The blow which finally put an end to his wild declamations was delivered from a quarter from which he had reason to believe that he had no more to fear. Many of the Girondists, who owed their overthrow primarily to Marat, had succeeded in making their escape to the provinces. At Caen, in Normandy, the fugitives aroused the sympathies of a beautiful and noble-minded girl, Charlotte Corday. Passionately afflicted by the divisions of her country, which she laid at Marat's door, she resolved by a bold stroke to free France from the oppressor. On July 13, 1793, she succeeded in forcing an entrance into his house, and stabbed him in his bath. She knew that the act meant her own death; but her exaltation did not desert her for a moment, and she passed to the guillotine a few days after the deed with the sustained calm of a martyr.

Death of Marie Antoinette, October, 1793.

The dramatic incidents associated with so many illustrious victims of the Terror can receive only scant justice here. In October, Marie Antoinette was summoned before the Revolutionary Tribunal. A number of untenable charges were trumped up against her by the prosecuting attorney; she met them with noble dignity, and on receiving her death-verdict, mounted the scaffold with all the stanchness befitting a daughter of the Cæsars.¹ A few days after Marie Antoinette, the imprisoned Girondists to

¹ Marie Antoinette left two children, a princess of fifteen years, and the dauphin, Louis, aged eight. The princess was released in 1795, but before that mercy could be extended to the boy, he had died under the inhuman treatment of his jailors. The systematic torturing to death of the poor dauphin is one of the most hideous blots upon the Revolution. The dauphin is reckoned by legitimists as Louis XVII.

the number of twenty-one travelled the same road. The next conspicuous victims were the duke of Orleans and Madame Roland, each hostile to the other, but charged alike with complicity in the Girondist plots. The duke of Orleans, head of the secondary branch of the House of Bourbon, richly merited his sentence. His life had been a web of lies and intrigues; to avenge himself on Louis XVI., with whom he had quarrelled, he had coquetted with the mob, and assumed the style of a good Jacobin. When titles were condemned, he had taken, in order to show the thoroughness of his conversion to the republican faith, the name of Philip Egalité (Equality). Finally, in 1792, he was elected to the Convention, as deputy for the city of Paris, and there, amidst the execrations of the republicans themselves, he committed his final act of knavery in voting for the death of the king. A different type of person was Madame Roland.¹ Her beautiful, vague enthusiasm for a regenerated public life naturally drew her to the Girondist party. For a time her house had been their meeting-place; she herself, with the emotional extravagance characteristic of the period, had been worshipped as their muse, as their Egeria. Her ideals were noble, and she is reported to have died apostrophizing the statue of Liberty, erected near the guillotine, with the words: "Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name."

Other victims.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the Terror was limited to Paris and directed merely against prominent individuals. By means of revolutionary committees, it was transplanted to the provinces, and here, relieved of the restraint exercised occasionally at Paris by the Con-

The Terror in the provinces.

¹ Madame Roland owed her influence in part to her husband, who was a prominent member of the Gironde and a minister during the last months of the reign of Louis XVI. Roland made his escape, on the proscription of the Gironde, but committed suicide on hearing of the death of his wife.

vention, it raged with a ferocity which degenerated in some instances into pure blood-madness.

Justified by
scattered
revolts.

As far as the Mountain troubled itself to give a justification for extending the system of the Terror to the provinces, it founded its argument on the necessity of maintaining the unity of France. And that the unity of France was threatened, on the fall of the Gironde, there can be no doubt. A number of departments took no pains, when apprized of the overthrow of the moderates, to conceal their indignation at the Mountain; Lyons, the second city of the realm, actually revolted; the port of Toulon surrendered to the English; and, worst of all, in the west, the Vendée, where the royalist and conservative peasants had already arisen in behalf of the king, the insurrection became general, when the usurpation of the Mountain held out the prospect of the permanent rule of violence.

The govern-
ment of the
Terror crushes
the insurrec-
tions.

This difficult situation the Convention, directed by the Mountain and the Committee of Public Safety, met with unflinching resolution. It sent an army against Lyons, and in October, 1793, after a brave resistance, Lyons was taken. Then the Convention resolved to inflict an unheard-of punishment: it ordered the destruction of a part of the city, and the erection on the ruins of a pillar, with the inscription: "Lyons waged war with liberty; Lyons is no more." In December, 1793, the French again acquired Toulon, chiefly through the skill of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte; and, in the same month, another army scattered the insurgents of the Vendée. In order to complete the work of pacification in this part of the country, the Convention sent one Carrier, with full powers, to the administrative capital of the northwest, Nantes. The vengeance wreaked by this madman upon the priests and peasants captured in the war make the practices of the Revolutionary Tribunal at Paris seem

*Napoleon
Bonaparte
takes
Toulon,
1793.*

like child's play. Dissatisfied with the slow process of the guillotine, Carrier invented new methods of wholesale execution. The most ingenious, the *noyade* (drowning), consisted in loading an old vessel with one hundred, two hundred, and even eight hundred victims—men, women, and children—floating it down the Loire, and then scuttling it in the middle of the river. By measures like these, the Terror managed to hold all France in subjection.

Carrier at
Nantes.

But the rule of the Terror was, perforce, exceptional. Sooner or later there was bound to occur a division among its supporters, and when division came the revolutionists were sure to rage against each other, as they had once raged in common against the aristocrats. The supreme statesman of the period, Mirabeau, had foreseen that development. In a moment of prophetic insight, he had declared that the Revolution, like Saturn, would end by devouring its own offspring.

Disruption of
Terror inevitable.

The first signs of the disintegration of the party of the Terror began to appear in the autumn of 1793. The most radical wing, which owed its strength to its hold on the government of the city of Paris, and which followed the lead of one Hébert, had turned its particular animosity against the Catholic faith. To replace this ancient cult, despised as aristocratic, there was proclaimed the religion of Reason; and, finally, in order to hurry the victory of this novel faith, the Hébertists in the municipality decreed the closure of all places of Catholic worship in Paris. As this ultra-revolutionary step was sure to alienate the affections of the confirmed Catholics, who were still very numerous, Robespierre took the earliest opportunity to denounce Hébert and his whole ilk before the Jacobins. Finally, in March, 1794, the last thread of his patience having snapped, he abruptly ordered the whole atheistic band to the guillotine.

End of the
Hébertists,
March, 1794.

The overthrow of Hébert was followed by that of Danton and his friends, although for an altogether different reason. No man had done more than Danton to establish the reign of the Mountain. A titanic nature, with a claim to real statesmanship, he had exercised a decisive influence in more than one great crisis; France had primarily him to thank for her rescue from the Prussians in the summer of 1792. But now he was growing weary. The uninterrupted flow of blood disgusted him, and he raised his voice in behalf of mercy. Mercy, to Robespierre and his young follower the arch-fanatic, Saint Just, was nothing less than treason, and in sudden alarm at Danton's "moderation," they hurried him and his friends^{*} to the guillotine (April 5, 1794). Thus Robespierre was rid of his last rival. No wonder that it was now whispered abroad that he was planning to make himself dictator.

End of the
Dantonists,
April, 1794.

Robespierre
supreme.

Introduces the
religion of the
Supreme Being.

And between Robespierre and a dictatorship there stood, in the spring of 1794, only one thing—his own political incapacity. That he had the Jacobins, the municipality of Paris, the Convention, and the Committee of Public Safety in his hands was proved by their servile obedience to his slightest nod. On May 7 he, the deist, who borrowed his faith, as he borrowed his politics, from the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, had the satisfaction of wresting from the Convention a supreme decree. Thereby the worship of Reason, advocated by the atheists, was overthrown, and the Convention declared that the French people recognized a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul; and on June 8, 1794, the ludicrous religion of the Supreme Being was inaugurated by a splendid festival, at which Robespierre himself officiated as high priest. Two days later, he showed in what spirit he interpreted his spiritual function. In order to facilitate the condemnations, he had the Revolutionary Tribunal, by formal

** including the noted agitator,
Camille Desmoulins.*

enactment in the Convention, multiplied, and the procedure of that body stripped of its last vestiges of legal form. Now only it was that the executions in Paris began in a really wholesale manner. During the six weeks before the adoption of the new religion, the numbers of those guillotined in Paris amounted to 577 ; during the first six weeks after its adoption, the victims reached the frightful figure of 1,356. No government office, no service rendered on the battle-field secured immunity from arrest and death. At last, the Terror invaded the Convention itself. Paralyzed by fear that body submitted, for a time, to the unnatural situation. But when the uncertainty connected with living perpetually under a threat of death had become intolerable, the opponents of Robespierre banded together in order to crush him. With his immense following among the mob he could doubtless have anticipated his enemies, but instead of acting, he preferred to harangue and denounce. On the 9th of Thermidor (July 27),¹ he and his adherents were condemned by the Convention and executed the next day. *(including St. Just)*

Fall of Robespierre, 9th Thermidor.

*The Rule of the Thermidorians (July 27, 1794, to October 26, 1795).**

The fall of Robespierre naturally put an end to the Terror. The Terror had, after a year of terrible ravages, be-

¹ The Convention, guided by its hatred of the royalist past, had introduced a new system of time reckoning. Since the birth of the Republic was regarded as more important than the birth of Christ, September 21, 1792, the day when monarchy was formally abolished, was voted the beginning of a new era. The whole Christian calendar was at the same time declared to be tainted with aristocracy, and a new calendar devised. The chief feature of the new revolutionary calendar was the invention of new names for the months, such as: Nivose, Snow month; Pluviose, Rain month; Ventose, Wind month, for the winter months. Germinal, Budding month; Floréal, Flower month; Prairial, Meadow month, for the spring months, etc.

It is worthy of notice that the Convention introduced one change which has become popular. It supplanted the old and complicated system of weights and measures by the metrical system.

~~*Mallet, ch. 84.~~

*See references p. 291.

Return to mild
counsels.

The Thermi-
dorians de-
stroy the in-
struments of
the Terror.

Progress
of the war.

come so thoroughly discredited, even among its own supporters, that the Convention would not have dared to continue the abominated system even if it had so desired. The Thermidorians, many of whom had been the most active promoters of the Terror, bowed, therefore, to the force of circumstances. They heaped all the blame for the past year on the dead Robespierre, and calmly assumed the character of life-long lovers of rule and order. Slowly the bourgeoisie recovered its courage, and rallied to the support of the Thermidorian party ; finally, a succession of concerted blows swept the fragments of the Terror from the face of France. The municipality of Paris, the citadel of the rioters, was dissolved ; the Revolutionary Tribunal dispersed ; the functions of the Committee of Public Safety restricted ; and, to make victory sure, the Jacobin Club, the old hearth of disorder, was closed.* During the next year—the last of its long lease of power—the Convention ruled France in full accord with the moderate opinion of the majority of the citizens.

But if the Terror fell, its overthrow was due also to the fact that it had accomplished its end. Its excuse, as we have seen, was the danger of France, and whatever else be said of it, it had really succeeded in defending France against the forces of a tremendous coalition. On this defense the reader must now bestow a rapid glance. In the campaign of 1793 the French had valiantly held their own, although they hardly dared as yet to do more than stand on the defensive, but, in 1794, Carnot's splendid power of organization, and his gift for picking out young talents, enabled the Revolutionary army to carry the war into the territory of the enemy. In the course of this year Jourdan's army conquered Belgium, and shortly after Pichegru occupied Holland. Belgium, as a part of the Austrian dominions, was quickly annexed to France, but Holland was merely modelled, after

* Also, the Law of the Maximum was repealed. Just previous to this, the infamous barrier had been tried and executed.

the example of France, into the Batavian Republic, and, for the present, confirmed in its independence (1795). At the same time, the old animosities between Prussia and Austria having broken out again, the French were enabled, in their German campaign, to occupy the whole left bank of the Rhine. These astonishing victories prepared the disruption of the coalition, and as the Thermidorians, for their part, had no desire to continue the war forever, they entered, on receiving information of the favorable disposition of Prussia and Spain, into negotiations with these governments, and in the spring of 1795 concluded peace with them at Basle. By these treaties the position of France was made very much more easy; of the great powers, England and Austria alone were now left in the field against her.

Peace with
Prussia and
Spain, 1795.

Meanwhile, the Convention had taken up the long-neglected task for which it had been summoned: in the course of the year 1795 it completed a new constitution for republican France. This constitution was all ready to be promulgated when, in October, the Convention had to meet one more assault of the Jacobin element. Animated with blind hatred of the parties of order, and exasperated by the prospect of a constitution which would sweep mob-rule out of existence, the lower orders marched upon the Convention to cow it by violence, as they had cowed it so often. But the Convention had been, for some time, filled with a different spirit. It resolved to defend itself, and intrusted one of its members, Barras, with the task; but Barras, being no soldier, conferred the command of the troops upon a young friend of his, present in Paris by chance, Napoleon Bonaparte. This young officer had already creditably distinguished himself at Toulon, and wanted nothing better than the opportunity Barras offered. When the mob marched against the Convention on October 5, young Bonaparte

Convention
completes its
constitution.

Bonaparte
protects the
Convention,
October, 1795.

received them with such a volley of grape-shot, that they fled precipitately, leaving hundreds of their comrades dead upon the pavement. It was a new way of treating the Parisian mob, and it had its effect. Henceforth, in the face of such resolution, the mob lost taste for the dictation which it had exercised unquestioned for six years. Thus with the appearance on the scene of Bonaparte and his soldiers, the chapter of revolutionary violences had come to an end.

The
Constitution
of the year III.

The Convention could now perform its remaining business without fear. On October 26 it dissolved itself, and the new constitution went immediately into effect. This constitution is called the Constitution of the year III., from the year of the republican calendar in which it was completed. Its main provisions mark a return from the loose, liberal notions of the constitution of 1791 to a more compact executive. Nevertheless, the tyranny of the *ancien régime* was still too near for the dread of a single executive to have vanished utterly. Therefore, a compromise was found in an executive of five members, called the Directory. The legislative functions were intrusted to two houses—a further departure from the constitution of 1791, the single legislative house of which had proved a failure—called respectively, the Council of Five Hundred and the Council of the Ancients.

*The Directory (1795-99).**

The Directory
plans a
campaign
against
Austria.

The Directory wished to signalize its accession to power by a brilliant victory over the remaining enemies of France—England and Austria. But an attack upon England was, because of the lack of a fleet, out of the question. With Austria, the case was different, and Austria the Directory now resolved to strike with the combined armies of France. In accordance with this purpose, “the organizer of victory,”

* Morris, chs. VIII. & IX.

Adams, ch. XVI.

Stephens, pp. 160-62 (Descr. of the Directory, etc.)

Carnot, who was one of the Directors, worked out a plan by which the Austrians were to be attacked simultaneously in Germany and Italy. Two splendid armies under Jourdan and Moreau were assigned to the German task, which was regarded as by far the more important, while the Italian campaign, undertaken as a mere diversion, was intrusted to a shabbily equipped army of 30,000 men, which, by the influence of the director Barras, was put under the command of the defender of the Convention, General Bonaparte. But by the mere force of his genius, Bonaparte upset completely the calculations of the Directory, and gave his end of the campaign such importance that he, and not Jourdan or Moreau, decided the war.

For Napoleon's
battles see
end of book
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Bonaparte's task was to beat, with his army, an army of Piedmontese and Austrians twice as large. Because of the superiority of the combined forces of the enemy, he naturally resolved to meet the Piedmontese and Austrians separately. Everything in this plan depended on quickness, and it was now to appear that quickness was Bonaparte's great tactical merit. Before the snows had melted from the mountains, he arrived unexpectedly before the gates of Turin, and wrested a peace from the king of Sardinia-Piedmont, by the terms of which this old enemy of France had to surrender Savoy and Nice (May, 1796). Then Bonaparte turned against the Austrians. Before May was over, he had driven them out of Lombardy.* The Pope and the small princes in alarm, hastened to buy peace of France by the cession of territories and of works of art, while the Austrians tried again and again to recover their lost position. But at Arcola (November ¹⁶ 1796) and Rivoli (January ¹⁴ 1797), Bonaparte, by his astonishing alertness, beat signally the forces sent against him.* Then he crossed the Alps to dictate terms under the walls of Vienna.

Bonaparte in
Italy, 1796.

This sudden move of Bonaparte's determined the em-

* For Napoleon's plans at this time, see H. O. P. Tranchesi's *Reprints*, vol. II., No. 2.

† The most famous battle of this stage of the Italian Campaign was that of Lodi, May 10, 1796.

The Peace of
Campo For-
mio, 1797.

peror Francis II. to sue for peace. Although his brother, the archduke Charles, had, at the head of the Austrian forces in Germany, beaten Jourdan and Moreau in the campaign of 1796, the emperor was not prepared to stand a siege in his capital. His offers were met half-way by Bonaparte, and out of the negotiations which ensued there grew the Peace of Campo Formio (October¹⁷ 1797)*. By the Peace of Campo Formio, Austria ceded her Belgian provinces to France, recognized the French political creations in Italy, and promised to use her influence to get the Empire to accept the principle of the Rhine boundary. In return for these concessions, she received from France the Republic of Venice, which Napoleon had just occupied.

Napoleon
creates two
republics in
Italy.

The French political creations in Italy which Austria recognized by the Peace of Campo Formio were the personal work of Napoleon, having been established by him out of the conquests of the war. They were the Cisalpine Republic, identical, in the main, with the old Austrian province of Lombardy, and the Ligurian Republic, evolved from the old Republic of Genoa. Both these republics were modelled upon the Republic of France, and were made entirely dependent upon their prototype.

Bonaparte,
the hero of
France.

When Bonaparte returned to France, with the Peace of Campo Formio in his hand, he was greeted as the national hero, for he had at last given France the peace which she had been so long desiring. And while renewing peaceful relations between her and the Continent, he had won for her terms more favorable than her greatest monarch had ever dreamt of. A man who had in a single campaign so distinguished himself and his country naturally stood, from now on, at the centre of affairs.

Napoleon's
life.

That Napoleon Bonaparte should obtain a position of pre-eminence in France, before he had reached the age of thirty, would never have been prophesied by the friends

* *U. S. P. Translations & Reprints,*
vol. II., No. 2.

of his youth. He was born at Ajaccio, on the Island of Corsica, on August 15, 1769. It so happened that, in the very year of his birth, the island was in the throes of a revolution. The natives of Corsica, Italians by race, had long been under the power of the Republic of Genoa, when, in the year 1768, France obtained the cession of the island from the Genoese, who were no longer able to hold it. At the time of Napoleon's birth, therefore, the French were occupied in establishing a military and a foreign rule over his native land. Amidst impressions associated with the forcible overthrow of his country's freedom, and in the grasp of ideas of revenge, stubbornly nourished by the class of small nobles to which he belonged, the young Corsican grew up. The first notable turn in his fortunes occurred, when still a boy he was sent to France to be reared in a military school. In France, though he continued to hate his new country, he was, owing to the poverty of his family, forced to remain. In due course of time he became a lieutenant of artillery, and it was while he was holding this commission among a nation which he detested that the French Revolution broke out, and opened a free field for all who were possessed of strength and talent. Naturally, the great movement of the Revolution affected the mind and fortunes of every inhabitant of France. Its irresistible current now bore the young Napoleon along, until he gladly enough forgot his narrow Corsican patriotism, and merged his individuality with that of his French conquerors. We noted his first great feat at Toulon. The four short years which lay between Toulon and Campo Formio had carried him by rapid stages to the uppermost round of the ladder of success.

With the Continent at peace with France, the Directory had cause to congratulate itself. The government had made itself respected abroad, and at home there was a

The improved
condition of
France.

higher degree of order and prosperity than had existed for many years. An especial merit of the Directory had been the withdrawal of the worthless paper-money (*assignats*) of the Revolution, and the return to somewhat sounder principles of financial order. In the Directorial cup of gladness there was only one drop of bitterness—England still held out relentlessly against France.

England at-
tacked in
Egypt, 1798.

Therefore, in the year 1798, the Directory planned against England a great action in order to bring her to terms. The lack of a fleet put a direct attack upon the island-kingdom, now as ever, out of the question. It was, therefore, resolved to strike England indirectly, by threatening her colonies. With due secrecy an expedition was prepared at Toulon, and Napoleon given the command. Nelson, the English admiral, was, of course, on the outlook, but Bonaparte succeeded in evading his vigilance, and in May, 1798, set out for Egypt. Egypt was a province of Turkey; then, as now, it was the key to the Orient. Established on the Nile, Bonaparte could cut the connection of England with India and the East. It was for this reason that Nelson immediately gave chase when he got wind of Napoleon's movements, and although he arrived too late to hinder the French from landing near Alexandria, he just as effectually ruined the French expedition, by attacking the French fleet on August 1, at Abukir Bay, and destroying it utterly. Bonaparte might now go on conquering Egypt and all Africa—he was shut off from Europe and as good as imprisoned with his whole army.

Battle of Abu-
kir Bay.

The failure of
the Egyptian
campaign.

Thus the Egyptian campaign was lost before it had fairly begun. Napoleon could blind his soldiers to the fact but he hardly blinded himself. Of course he did what he could to retrieve the disaster to his fleet. By his victory over the Egyptian soldiery, the Mamelukes, in the battle of the Pyramids (1798), he made himself master of the

basin of the Nile. The next year he marched to Syria. The seaport of Acre, which he besieged in order to establish communication with France, repulsed his attack; the plague decimated his brave troops. Sick at heart Bonaparte returned to Egypt, and despairing of a change in his fortunes, suddenly resolved to desert his army. On August 22, 1799, he contrived to run the English blockade, and on October 9, he landed with a few friends at Fréjus. Though the army he had deserted was irretrievably lost,¹ that fact was forgotten amid the rejoicings with which the conqueror of Italy was received in France.

The enthusiastic welcome of France which turned Bonaparte's journey to Paris into a triumphal procession was due partially to the unexpected reverses which the Directory had suffered during the young general's absence. Bonaparte was hardly known to have been shut up in Egypt, when Europe, hopeful of shaking off the French ascendancy, formed a new coalition against the war-like Republic. Austria and Russia, supported by English money, gladly renewed the Continental war, and the year 1798 was marked by a succession of victories which swept the French out of Italy and Germany. At the time when Bonaparte made his appearance at Fréjus, an invasion of France did not seem out of the question.

No wonder that the hopes of the nation gathered around the dashing military leader. What other French general had exhibited such genius as Bonaparte, had won such glory for himself and France? Moreover, the people were tired to death of the party spirit and the continued uncertainty threatening with ruin property and life. The executive of the five Directors, unable to maintain even the show of harmony, was beginning to lose its grip. So evi-

The Second
Coalition,
1798, 1799.

[*See First
Coalition,
see p. 292.*]

[*See Third
Coalition,
see p. 316.*]

Napoleon, the
saviour.

¹ The army surrendered to the English a year later.

** owing to the genius and bravery of
the English Admiral, Sir Sidney Smith,
who was assisting in the defence.*

dently had disorder set in that the royalists came out of their hiding-places, and negotiated openly about the return of the legitimate king. In short, in October, 1799, France was in such confusion that everybody turned spontaneously to Napoleon as toward a saviour.

Napoleon
overthrows the
Directory.
1799.

Bonaparte was hardly apprized of this state of public opinion, when he resolved to act. With the aid of two Directors, Sieyès and Roger-Ducos, he overthrew the government. The only resistance which he encountered was from the Chamber of Five Hundred, and that body was overcome by the use of military force. The ease with which Bonaparte executed the *coup d'état* of November 9, 1799 (18th Brumaire), proves that the Constitution of the Year III. was dead in spirit, before he destroyed it in fact.

✓ *The Consulate (1799 to 1804)**

Napoleon
gives France a
new constitu-
tion, i. e.,

The
Consular
Constitu-
tion.

Bonaparte was now free to set up a new constitution, in which an important place would be assured to himself. Rightly he divined that what France needed and desired was a strong executive, for ten years of anarchic liberty had prepared the people for the renewal of despotism. Thus the result of Bonaparte's deliberations with his friends was the Consular Constitution, by which the government was practically concentrated in the hands of one official, called the First Consul. Of course, the appearances of popular government were preserved. The legislative functions were reserved to two bodies, the Tribune and the Legislative Body, but as the former discussed bills without voting upon them, and the latter merely voted upon them without discussing them, their power was so divided that they necessarily lost all influence. Without another *coup d'état*, by means of a simple change of title, the Consul Bonaparte could, when he saw fit, evolve himself into the Emperor Napoleon.

* Morris, *chs. X. — XII.*

Adams, *ch. XVII.*

✓ Stephens (*pp. 208 — 11*).

But for the present, there was more urgent business on hand. France was at war with the Second Coalition; there was work to be done in the field. The opportune withdrawal of Russia, before the beginning of the campaign, again limited the enemies of France to England and Austria. The situation was, therefore, analogous to that of 1796, and the First Consul resolved to meet it by an analogous plan. Concentrating his attention upon Austria, he sent Moreau against her into Germany, while he himself went to meet her, as once before, in Italy. By a dramatic march in the early spring over the Great St. Bernard Pass, a feat which only Hannibal had performed before him, he was enabled to strike unexpectedly across the Austrian line of retreat, and to force the enemy to make a stand. In the Battle of Marengo, which followed (June 14, 1800), he crushed the Austrians, and recovered all Italy at a stroke. Again Francis II. had to admit the invincibility of French arms. In the Peace of Lunéville (1801)*, he reconfirmed all the cessions made at Campo Formio, and as the Empire became a party to the Peace of Lunéville, there was no flaw this time in the cession of the left bank of the Rhine. It is this feature of the Rhine boundary which gives the Peace of Lunéville its importance. As the Peace, furthermore, re-delivered Italy into Bonaparte's hands, to do with as he pleased, he now re-established the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics in their old dependence upon France.

Again, as in 1798, the only member of the coalition which held out against France, was England. How humble the great sea-power? Bonaparte's naval power was as inadequate now as ever, and, in no case, did he have any desire to renew the Egyptian experiment. Being at the end of his resources, he opened negotiations with the cabinet at London, and in March, 1802, concluded with England, on the basis of mutual restitutions, the Peace of Amiens.

Napoleon again in Italy.

— And this was followed by Moreau's great victory at Hohenlinden (Dec. 3, 1800).

Peace of Lunéville, 1801.

Peace of Amiens, 1802.

* M. J. P. Translations & Reprints, vol. II., no. 2.

France at
peace with the
world.

France was now, after ten years of fighting, at peace with the whole world. The moment was auspicious, but it remained to be seen whether she could accumulate the strength within, and inspire the confidence without, which would enable her to make the year 1802 the starting-point of a new development.

Bonaparte un-
dertakes the
reconstruction
of France.

Certainly Bonaparte showed no want of vigor in engaging in the tasks of peace. Nor was he discouraged by the chaotic prospect which opened up before him. It is not too much to say, that in consequence of the wholesale destruction and careless experimentation of the last decade, there was not, when Bonaparte assumed power, a principle nor an institution of government which stood unimpaired. The work before the First Consul during the interval of peace which followed the treaties of Lunéville and Amiens was, therefore, nothing less than the reconstruction of the whole of France. Of this situation Bonaparte was well aware, and he was entirely willing to shoulder its consequences. In a public proclamation he announced that the disturbances were now over, and that he considered it his special task to "close" the Revolution and to "consolidate" its results.

Return of
prosperity.

Such being his programme, one of his first cares was to restore business confidence. He completed the return to a sound currency, engaged in great public enterprises, such as the building of roads and public edifices, and showed an intelligent, though perhaps meddling, interest in commerce and industry. The mere return of order did the rest; and France found herself, in a surprisingly short time, marching toward an era of prosperity. Surely the country had reason to be satisfied with its "saviour." Supported by the good will of the whole people, the First Consul now undertook to plant a number of fundamental institutions, which, in spite of all the revolutions of the nineteenth century, exist

to this day, and are Bonaparte's best title to fame. Let us give these institutions a brief consideration.

- (1) The internal administration of France had, under the late governments, fallen into complete anarchy. The constitution of 1791 had divided France into eighty-three departments, and had supplanted the old centralized administration of royal appointees by the English system of local self-government. Among a people untrained in politics self-government is a dangerous experiment; in revolutionary France it proved a flat failure. Reform of the civil service had, therefore, become inevitable, and since Napoleon's advent to power meant a return to monarchical lines, it is no wonder that the government should have resorted to the principle of the old centralized administration. Impelled by his view of the situation, the First Consul now invented a system of prefects and sub-prefects who, appointed directly by the government, ruled the eighty-three departments like so many "little First Consuls." The success of the new creation was, from Napoleon's point of view, complete. Not even Louis XIV. had held the provinces so well in hand as Napoleon held them by virtue of his army of administrative nominees.

A new centralized administration.

- (2) Next Napoleon gave back to France her religion and her Church. The Revolution had consistently antagonized the Catholic Church; it had confiscated its property, and had attempted to enslave its ministers to the state. Napoleon, although he was personally without any fixed religious views, knew that the restoration of the Church would not only win him the gratitude of the better classes, but would also materially contribute to the stability of his government. Soon after his advent to power he opened negotiations with the Pope which ended in a peace called the Concordat (1801). By the terms of the Concordat, the Church, on the one hand, resigned its

Reconciliation with the Church, 1801.

* Stephens (*Revolutionary Europe*, p. 69) says 80.
 Hilson (*The State*, p. 214) says 89;
 and then goes on to say (p. 215) that France
 now has but 86, having lost 3 with Alsace-Lorraine.

at end of
 books
 volume 83.

claims to its confiscated possessions, but the state, in return, assumed the maintenance, on a liberal basis, of the priests and bishops. Besides, the government reserved to itself the nomination of these latter. Thus the Church was re-established, but in very close dependence on the state.

Return of justice. *The Code Napoléon*,

1804.

(3) But Bonaparte's greatest creation was the reconstruction of the French courts and laws, effected by the *Code Napoléon*. The juridical confusion reigning in France, before the Revolution, is indescribable; Roman, customary, and statutory law had never been harmonized, even for a single province; and in neighboring provinces, there were often radically different systems in force. The Revolution had made an attempt to straighten out the confusion, but had not got far when Bonaparte came to power. With his remarkable energy he soon had a commission of expert lawyers at work upon a new French legal system, and before long (1804) he was enabled to publish the results of their labors. By the *Code Napoléon*, all France received a common book of laws and a common system of justice, whereby the dispatch of law-suits was made rapid, cheap, and reliable. No labor of a similar degree of perfection had been performed since the great codifications of Roman law under the Emperor Justinian.

If Bonaparte had sincerely attached himself to the policy of peace, heralded by the above creations, it is not improbable that he would have succeeded in "consolidating" the results of the Revolution. But the works of peace and the duties of a civil magistrate could not long satisfy his boundless hunger for action and his love of glory. An irrepressible energy led him to aspire to the splendor of a conqueror like Alexander, or to the majesty of an emperor of the sway of Augustus. Slowly, almost instinctively, he began to break away from his policy of peace, and to spurn his popular programme of "closing" the Revolution. In

1802 he had himself elected consul for life. The step brought him within view of the throne, and in May, 1804, he dropped the last pretense of republicanism, and had himself proclaimed Emperor of the French. Finally, in December of the same year, amidst ceremonies recalling the glories of Versailles, he crowned himself and his wife Josephine at the Church of Notre Dame, at Paris.

Napoleon
crowns himself
Emperor, De-
cember, 1804.

*The Empire (1804 to 1815).**

The change of France, from a republic to a monarchy, naturally affected the circle of subject-republics with which she had surrounded herself. Their so-called "freedom" had been the gift of France, and could not logically stand when France herself had surrendered hers. At a nod from Napoleon, the Batavian Republic now changed itself into the Kingdom of Holland, and thankfully accepted Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, for king. In like manner, the Cisalpine Republic became the Kingdom of Italy; but in Italy, Napoleon himself assumed the power, and in May, 1805, was formally crowned at Milan. At the same time the Ligurian Republic suffered the lot which Piedmont had suffered some years before, and was incorporated with France.

Napoleon,
king of Italy,
May, 1805.

Even before these momentous changes, the confidence with which the European governments had first greeted Napoleon had vanished. Slowly they began to divine in him the insatiable conqueror, who was only awaiting an opportunity to swallow them all. As early as 1803 continued chicaneries between him and England had led to a renewal of the war. Napoleon now prepared a great naval armament at Boulogne, and for a year, at least, England was agitated by the prospect of a descent upon her coasts; but the lack of an adequate fleet made Napoleon's project

Renewal of the
war with Eng-
land.

* Morris, chs. XII. — XV.

Adams, ch. XVII.

See h. 306.

chimerical from the first, and in the summer of 1805 he unreservedly gave it up.

The Third Coalition,

1805.

[From First Coalition, see f. 292.]

[From Second Coalition, see f. 309.]

Austerlitz, 1805.

He gave it up because England had succeeded in arranging with Austria and Russia a new coalition (the third). No sooner had Napoleon got wind of the state of affairs, than he abandoned his quixotic English expedition, and threw himself upon the practical task of defeating his continental enemies. The Austrians were far from ready, and moreover, their armies were badly led. At Ulm, Napoleon performed the clever feat of taking captive the whole Austrian advance-guard of 25,000 men. The remnant of the Austrians thereupon fell back upon Moravia to effect a junction with the advancing Russians. Thus the road to Vienna was left uncovered, and Napoleon entered the Austrian capital in triumph. A few days later (December 2, 1805) he inflicted a decisive defeat upon the combined Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz. Again Emperor Francis II. (1792-1835) was reduced to bow down before the invincible Corsican, and at the Peace of Pressburg (December 26, 1805) he gave up Venice, which was incorporated with the Kingdom of Italy, and the Tyrol, which was incorporated with Bavaria. At the same time, the small South German states, Bavaria and Wurtemberg, were recognized as kingdoms.

Napoleon creates the Confederation of the Rhine, 1806.

This last provision of the Peace of Pressburg made a full revelation of Napoleon's German policy; clearly he wished to increase the lesser states of Germany to the point where they could neutralize the power of the two great states, Austria and Prussia. For this reason he lavished favors upon them, and made them so dependent upon his will, that they could offer no resistance when he proposed to them the idea of a new political union. This union was the Confederation of the Rhine,* which all the important German states, with the exception of Austria and Prussia, agreed

* For Napoleon's message of Aug. 1, 1806, announcing to the Imperial Diet (Ger.) the formation of the Confed. of the Rhine, see U. of P. Transcripts, vol. IV, No. 2.

finally to join, Napoleon himself assuming the guidance of it, under the name of Protector (1806). The Confederation of the Rhine was a great step forward in the realization of Napoleon's imperial idea, which, it was now plain to all, was fixed upon the conquest of Europe.

Naturally the Confederation of the Rhine effected a revolution in the old German political system. With southern and western Germany acknowledging allegiance to a new union of French origin, what room was there for the old Empire? Having been deserted by its supporters, it was actually at an end. Therefore, at the news of the new Confederation, the Emperor Francis II. resolved to make a legal end of it as well, and formally resigned.* Thus perished the Holy Roman Empire, which had stood in the world since the times of the great Augustus. Never was there an institution so long in dying. Centuries ago it had lost its efficacy, and its very venerability had become an aggravation of its weakness. Certainly no German had any cause to shed a tear at the passing away of such a national government. As for Francis II., he consoled himself for his loss by adopting the unhistorical title of emperor of Austria.

The end of the Holy Roman Empire.

The interference of Napoleon in Germany brought about next, the ruin of Prussia. Ever since 1795 (Treaty of Basle) Prussia had maintained toward France a friendly neutrality, and all the persuasion and threats of the rest of Europe had not induced her to join the Second and Third Coalitions. The government at Berlin, utterly blind to the great change toward militarism which had taken place in the French policy with the proclamation of the Empire, persisted in its amicable course, and even ventured to hope for all kinds of advantages by a close association with France. For a time, too, such advantages were realized; but as soon as Napoleon had destroyed the power of Austria, he

Relations of France and Prussia

* *For the Abdication of Francis II., see H. J. P. Transch's Reprints, vol. II., No. 2.*

ceased showing further care for the elevation of Prussia. On the contrary, he now planned to abase her power, and deliberately inaugurated toward Prussia a policy of provocations, which the obsequious government of the peevish King Frederick William III. (1797-1840), refused for a long time to resent. By the autumn of 1806, however, Napoleon's acts had grown so flagrant that Prussia, to save the remnant of her self-respect, had to declare war.

The elements
of Napoleon's
strategy.

Again Napoleon had an opportunity to show that the old military art of Europe could not maintain itself against his methods. As we examine these now, they surprise us by their mathematical simplicity. To get ready earlier, and to march more rapidly than the enemy, and then, having encountered him, to strike him at the weakest spot, with all the force that could be summoned—these principles must have presented themselves to many a general before Napoleon. And history tells us that these principles had indeed been held, but none the less it remains a fact that Napoleon's vigorous application of them was altogether new.

Overthrow
of Prussia,
1806.

The campaign of 1806 brought Napoleon's genius into view as no campaign did that had preceded it. But if Napoleon won, his soldiers shared the honors with him. For the Prussian troops, recruited on the old mercenary system, and pledged merely to the monarch who hired them, were as little the equals of the great national French armies, animated by the ideas of country and glory, as the Prussian commander, the ancient duke of Brunswick, who had been trained in the antiquated school of Frederick the Great, was a match for the fiery young emperor. On October 14, 1806, old and new Europe clashed once more; and at the battles of Jena and Auerstadt, fought on that day; the military monarchy of the great Frederick was overwhelmed. With a bare handful of troops, Frederick William III. fled toward his province of East Prussia, in order

*Jena
and
Auerstadt,
Oct. 14, 1806.*

to put himself under the protection of Russia, and before the month of October had passed Napoleon had entered Berlin in triumph.

All central Europe now lay in Napoleon's hand. Another man would have preferred to rest before continuing his triumphs, but Napoleon felt unsatisfied as long as there was someone who had not bowed to him in submission. In order to humiliate the presumptuous ally of Prussia, the Czar Alexander (1801-25), Napoleon now set out for Russia. But having in June, 1807, won the splendid victory of Friedland (East Prussia), he magnanimously accepted Alexander's overtures of peace.

Campaign
against
Russia, 1807.

The Czar Alexander was a young man with a mind imaginatively colored, and with a heart open to all generous impulses. He had long felt a secret admiration for the great Corsican, and now, when he met him under romantic circumstances, on a raft moored in the river Niemen, he fell completely under the spell of his personality. The consequence of the repeated deliberations of the emperors, to which Frederick William of Prussia was also admitted, was the Peace of Tilsit (July, 1807). By this Peace Russia was restored without loss, but Prussia was thoroughly humiliated and condemned to the sacrifice of half her territory. The Prussian provinces between the Elbe and the Rhine were made into a Kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's brother Jerome, and the Prussian spoils of the later Polish Partitions were constituted as the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, and given to the elector of Saxony, whom Napoleon in pursuance of his established German policy created king. Thus Prussia was virtually reduced to a secondary state.

Peace of Tilsit.
Prussia
humbled.

July, 1807.

But the most important feature of the Treaty of Tilsit was, perhaps, the alliance between France and Russia, which was, at Napoleon's wish, developed from the simple peace. It is a strange thing to see two people who have been

Alliance
between
Napoleon
and
Alexander.

*a short time before this was fought
the indecisive battle of Eylau!

fighting each other suddenly turn about and swear eternal friendship. But the eloquence which Napoleon displayed at Tilsit so fascinated the young Czar that he was completely won over to the French emperor's ideas. What these ideas were, in the year 1807, cannot be stated exactly, but it is very likely that they embraced a division of Europe into an Empire of the East and an Empire of the West, something after the fashion of the Roman Empire of Diocletian; at any rate, Napoleon promised not to interfere with Alexander in the east and exacted, in return, a free hand for himself in the west. Furthermore, he secured Russia's help in case of the continuation of the war with England.

Napoleon
at the zenith.

The Peace of Tilsit carried Napoleon to the zenith of his career. He was now emperor of the French and king of Italy; he held Germany as Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and Switzerland as Mediator of the Helvetic Republic; and in certain scattered territories, which he had not cared to absorb immediately, he ruled through subject-kings of his own family. His brother Louis had been created king of Holland; his brother Joseph, king of Naples; his brother Jerome, king of Westphalia; but no matter how fine their titles were, they were, one and all, the vassals of the emperor. Thus central Europe lay prostrate before him, while in the east Russia was his ally. To a man of Napoleon's imperiousness it was an intolerable indignity that one nation still dared threaten him with impunity—England.

War against
England;
the Con-
tinental
System.

Trafalgar,
1805.

The war with England, renewed in 1803, had been practically settled, when in October, 1805—Napoleon being then on his march to Vienna—Nelson destroyed the allied French and Spanish fleets off Trafalgar. The great Nelson perished in this engagement, at the moment of victory. Since then fighting on the seas had ceased. Though Napoleon might strike the inhabitants of Vienna

and St. Petersburg with fear, his power, being military and not naval, ended with the shore. In the dilemma in which he found himself he now hit upon a curious device in order to bring England to terms. He resolved to ruin her commerce and sap her strength by the so-called Continental System.* As early as November, 1806, he sent out from Berlin a number of decrees enforcing the seizure of English goods, and ordering the cessation of English traffic in all French and allied ports; and at Tilsit he had, with the consent of Alexander, declared the commercial breach with England incumbent on all Europe. As England immediately responded with a blockade of all the continental ports, the conflict between England, dominant on the seas, and Napoleon, dominant on the Continent, now took the form of a vast struggle between the shore and the ocean.

The Continental System may fairly be called the beginning of Napoleon's downfall; for it marks the point where the great genius overreached himself. Let anyone examine the Continental System in all its bearings, and he will be forced to the conclusion that the emperor's late astonishing successes on the Continent must have impaired his sense of the possible. With the Continental System and what followed it, he tried to do the impossible, and so undermined his own throne. For by means of the Continental System, Napoleon not only declared a commercial war against England, but against Europe as well; and—what made this latter phase of the conflict worse for him—he declared war this time not against the European sovereigns, whom he might despise, but against the peoples, who were in many cases attached to him, as to their liberator from feudal thralldom, and whom he could, under no circumstances, afford to alienate. But alienate and incense them he did when he impoverished them by the prohibition of trade. Misery

The
Continental
System
prepares
Napoleon's
downfall.

* For various docs. relating to Napoleon's Continental System, see
U. S. P. Trachius, & Reprints, vol. II., No. 2.

gradually invaded the idle sea-ports; factories and commission-houses shut down. A sullen discontent spread through Europe, and wherever men starved, they raised their hands to heaven and invoked destruction on the man who had become the scourge of Europe. Napoleon's successes had been, in no small measure, due to the sympathy with which the peoples, as distinct from their rulers, had everywhere received him, who brought equality and justice and the other great blessings of the Revolution; but what hope would there be for him in the future, if he turned the popular hatred of tyranny, by the aid of which he had conquered, against himself? Thus the Continental System inevitably matured the national revolts of the European States, and the progressive national revolts were bound, sooner or later, to shatter Napoleon's quixotic cosmopolitan Empire.

Napoleon
occupies Por-
tugal.

The first protest against the Continental System was made, curiously enough, by little Portugal. In order to close its ports against the English, Napoleon occupied it with an army, November, 1807. The resistance offered at first was small, and the royal family fled to Brazil.

Napoleon
gives Spain to
his brother
Joseph, 1808.

For the same purpose, Napoleon next occupied Spain. The relations between France and the Spanish Bourbons had, since the peace of 1795, been exceedingly friendly; Napoleon and Charles IV. of Spain had even become allies, and the latter had exhibited his good faith by sacrificing his fleet, for Napoleon's sake, at Trafalgar. Nevertheless, Napoleon now deliberately planned to deprive his friend of his kingdom. Taking advantage of a quarrel between the king and his son Ferdinand, he invited the royal pair to Bayonne, to lay their quarrel before him, and there, instead of adjudicating between them, he forced both to resign their rights to the throne (May, 1808). Spain was thereupon given to Napoleon's brother Joseph, who, in

return, had to hand over his kingdom of Naples to Napoleon's brother-in-law, the great cavalry leader Murat.

The unexampled violation of law and justice of which Napoleon made himself guilty at Bayonne occasioned a terrible excitement among the Spaniards. Spontaneously the various provinces of the proud nation rose in revolt against the foreign usurper. Napoleon had dreamt of a peaceful conquest ; he awakened to find a country in conflagration. But with his usual courage, he took up the gauntlet that was thrown down to him. The French troops had beaten all the armies of Europe ; the degenerate Spaniards, he argued, would go down at a blow. And if the Spaniards had met him with a regular army, his anticipation would no doubt have been realized. But they met him in a guerilla warfare, which consisted in darting from secret ambuscades upon detachments and rear-guards, and for such primitive tactics Napoleon's troops were unfitted. The summer of 1808 brought him a harvest of small calamities, and to make things worse, England began, gradually, to take a hand in the Spanish affairs. Having waited in vain for Napoleon to seek her on the sea, she found and seized this opportunity to seek him on the land. In the summer of 1808 an English army landed in Portugal for the purpose of supporting the Portuguese and Spanish national revolts. When Napoleon, angered by the check received by his political system, appeared in person on the scene (autumn, 1808), he had no difficulty in sweeping the Spaniards into the hills and the English to their ships, but he was hardly gone when the Spaniards again ventured forth from their retreats, and the English forced a new landing.

The Spanish
revolt.

England helps
Spain.

Napoleon had now to learn that a resolute people cannot be conquered. The Spanish war swallowed immense sums and immense forces ; but Napoleon, as stubborn in

Successes of
the Spaniards
and of Wellington.

his way as the Spaniards, would give ear to no suggestion of concession. Slowly, however, circumstances told against him. The revolts showed no signs of abating, and when, in 1809, a capable general, Sir Arthur Wellesley, known by his later title of duke of Wellington, took command of the English forces, and foot by foot forced his way toward Madrid, Napoleon's Spanish enterprise became hopeless. Of course, that was not immediately apparent; but what did become all too soon apparent was that the enslaved states of central Europe were taking the cue from the Spaniards, and were preparing, in a similar manner, a popular struggle to the knife with their oppressor.

Failure of the
Austrian re-
volt, 1809.

In the year 1809, Austria, encouraged by the Spanish successes, was inspired to arouse the Germans to a national revolt. But the result proved that the effort was premature. As Prussia was still occupied by French troops and the whole territory of the Confederation of the Rhine was pledged to Napoleon's interests, only detached bodies of Germans responded to Austria's call. At Wagram (July 6, 1809) Napoleon laid Austria a fourth time at his feet. In the Peace of Vienna which followed, she was forced to cede Salzburg to Bavaria, East Galicia to Russia, and the Illyrian provinces to France, and had reason to consider herself fortunate for being allowed to exist at all. It is altogether probable that Napoleon would have made an end of Austria, if he had not been forced at this time to provide for a complete change of his political system.

Wagram,
1809.

The fact was, the Czar Alexander was getting tired of the arrangements of Tilsit. The Peace of Tilsit practically shut Russia off from the west, and made it incumbent upon the Czar to accept before-hand every alteration in that part of Europe which Napoleon chose to dictate. Then the Continental System, to which Alexander had pledged himself, was proving in Russia, as elsewhere, a heavy burden.

Napoleon noticed the diminishing heartiness of the Czar, and resolved to secure himself against defection by allying himself with Austria. Austria was, after the war of 1809, in no position to refuse the proffered friendship, and when Napoleon further demanded, as a pledge of good faith, the hand of the emperor's daughter Marie Louise, that request, too, had to be granted. In consequence of these changed political plans, Napoleon divorced his first wife, the amiable Josephine Beauharnais, and in April, 1810, celebrated his union with a daughter of the ancient imperial line of Hapsburg. When, in the succeeding year, there was born to him a son and heir,¹ he could fancy that his throne had finally acquired permanence.

Napoleon seeks an alliance with Austria.

Napoleon divorces Josephine.

And surely never did Napoleon's power exhibit a greater outward splendor, never did his behests meet with more implicit obedience, than in the year 1811. So unchallenged was his supremacy that he could now proceed to incorporate the States of the Church, Holland, and half of northern Germany directly with France, in order to secure the strict application of the Continental System. The only cloud in a fair sky was the Spanish rising, and that incident, with a little power of illusion, could be comfortably minimized to a military bagatelle. As Napoleon looked about enslaved Europe, he could not unreasonably convince himself that now was the time, or never, to put an end to the last independent state of the Continent, the eastern colossus, Russia. He had indeed once made a friend of that nation, for the purpose of securing an unhampered activity in the west. Having long since obtained from the alliance of Tilsit all that he could hope, it had now become a burden to him as well as to Alexander.

Napoleon prepares to overthrow Russia.

¹ Known as king of Rome and styled by imperialists, Napoleon II. He died young (1832), at the court of his grandfather, the emperor of Austria.

The campaign
of 1812, —
usually
known as
the Russian
Campaign.

The breach between Napoleon and Alexander became definite in the course of the year 1811. Both powers, therefore, eagerly prepared for war; and in the spring of 1812, Napoleon set in movement toward Russia the greatest armament that Europe had ever seen.* A half million (2) of men, representing all the nationalities of Napoleon's cosmopolitan Empire, seemed more than adequate to the task of bringing the Czar under the law of the emperor. And the expedition was, at first, attended by a series of splendid successes. In September Napoleon even occupied Moscow, the Russian capital, and there calmly waited to receive Alexander's submission.

The burning
of Moscow.

But he had underrated the spirit of resistance which animated the Empire of the Czar. Here, as in Spain, a determination to die rather than yield possessed every man, woman, and child. Napoleon was destined to receive, at the very culmination of a triumphant campaign, a terrible witness of the popular aversion. He had hardly arrived in Moscow when the whole city was, in accordance with a carefully laid plan on the part of the retreating Russians, set on fire and burned to the foundations.

The retreat.

The burning of Moscow meant nothing more nor less than the loss of the campaign. Moscow gone, there was not the least chance of finding adequate winter quarters in Russia. What was there left to do? Napoleon, with heavy heart, had to order the retreat. The rest of the campaign can be imagined, but not told. The frost of a winter, unexampled even in that northern climate; the gnawing hunger, which there was nothing to appease, but occasional horseflesh; and, finally, the fierce bands of enveloping Cossacks racked that poor army, till its discipline broke and its decimated battalions melted into a wild heap of struggling fugitives. Napoleon was unable to stand the sight of the misery and ruin, and, on December

5, deserted the army, and hurried to Paris. In his absence Marshal Ney, who on this retreat earned the title of "the bravest of the brave," did what human valor could do to save the honor of France and the wreck of her military power. Late in December the remnant of the so-called grand army dragged itself across the Niemen into safety.

The loss of his splendid army in Russia was, in any case, a serious calamity for Napoleon. But it would become an irremediable catastrophe if it encouraged central Europe to proclaim against him the national revolt, and created new complications at a juncture when he required all his strength to repair the unique disaster of his life. Unluckily for Napoleon, patriots everywhere felt this fact instinctively. Here was a moment of supreme importance, offering to all the conquered peoples of Europe the alternative of now or never. And at the call of the patriots, they rose against their tyrant and overthrew him. But the honor of having risen first belongs to Prussia.

Europe prepares to rise.

The Peace of Tilsit* had ground Prussia into the dust, but it had also prepared her redemption. A number of sober and patriotic men, notably Stein, Hardenberg, and Scharnhorst, had, after the overthrow at Jena, gained the upper hand in the council of the weak king, and had carried through a series of reforms, such as the abolition of serfdom and the reorganization of the army on a national basis, which, as by some process of magic, rejuvenated the state. And better even than the new institutions was the new patriotic spirit, informing young and old. When this renovated nation heard of Napoleon's ruin on the Russian snowfields, it was hardly to be contained for joy and impatience. All classes were seized with the conviction that the great hour of revenge had come; no debate, no delay on the part of the timid king was suffered, and resistlessly

The revival of Prussia, under Stein, Hardenberg, and others.

*see p. 319.

Prussia declares war,
1813.

First half of
the campaign
of 1813.

Second half
of campaign
of 1813.

Metternich.

Battle of Leipzig,
Oct. 16-18.

swept along in the rising tide of enthusiasm, he was forced to sign an alliance with Russia and declare war (March, 1813).

The disastrous campaign of 1812 would have exhausted any other man than Napoleon. But he faced the new situation as undaunted as ever. By herculean efforts, he succeeded in mustering a new army, and in the spring of 1813 he appeared suddenly in the heart of Germany, ready to punish the Prussians and the Russians. Life and death depended on his defeating these two powers before the Confederation of the Rhine and, above all, before Austria, had fallen off from his alliance. At Lützen (May 2), and at Bautzen (May 20), he maintained his ancient reputation. But clearly the day of the Jenas and Friedlands was over: the allies after their defeat fell back in good order upon Silesia, and Napoleon had to confess that his victories had been paid for by such heavy losses that to win, at this rate, was equivalent to ruin. On June 4 he agreed to an armistice in order to reorganize his troops.

Both parties now became aware that the issue of the campaign depended upon Austria; so delicately adjusted were the scales between the contestants that the side upon which she would throw her influence would have to win. In these circumstances Metternich,* Austria's minister, undertook, at first, the rôle of mediator, but when Napoleon indignantly rejected the conditions for a general peace which Metternich proposed, Austria threw in her lot with the European coalition, and in the autumn of 1813 there followed a concerted forward movement on the part of all the allies: Prussians, Russians, and Austrians crowded in upon Napoleon from all sides. Having the smaller force (160,000 men against 255,000 of the allies), he was gradually outmanœuvred, and at the great three days' battle of Leipzig (October 16-18) crushed utterly. With such

* *Mallet's Life of Prince Metternich.*

remnants as he could hold together he hurried across the Rhine. Germany was lost beyond recovery. The question now was merely: would he be able to retain France?

If the allies had been able to think of Napoleon in any other way than as a conqueror, it is very probable that they would not have pursued their advantage beyond Leipsic. But Napoleon, as the peaceful sovereign of a restricted France, was inconceivable, and therefore, after a moment's hesitation on the shores of the Rhine, the allies invaded the French territory resolved to make an end of their enemy. Still Napoleon, always fearless, held out.

Military men regard his campaign of the winter of 1814 as worthy of his best years; but he was now hopelessly outnumbered, and when, on March 31, the allies forced the gates of Paris, even Napoleon's confidence received a shock. As he looked about him, he saw the whole east of France in the hands of his enemies of Leipsic, while the south was as rapidly falling into the power of Wellington, who, having signally defeated the army of Marshal Soult in Spain, was now pursuing it across the Pyrenees. On April 6, 1814, Napoleon declared at his castle of Fontainebleau that all was over, and offered his abdication. The allies generously conceded him the island of Elba, as a residence, and then gave their attention to the problem of the future of France. Not from any enthusiasm for the House of Bourbon, but merely because there was no other way out of the difficulties, they finally gave their sanction to the accession to the throne of Louis XVIII., brother of the last king. As regards the extent of the restored kingdom, it was agreed in the Peace of Paris* that France was to receive the boundaries of 1792.

This important work being completed, a general congress of the powers assembled at Vienna to discuss the reconstruction of Europe.* The modern age has not seen

Campaign of
1814.

Napoleon
abdicates,
Apr. 6,
1814.

1st.
Peace of
Paris.

The Congress
of Vienna.

* May 30, 1814.

* This Congress opened Nov. 1, 1814.

a more brilliant gathering. All the sovereigns and statesmen who had stood at the centre of public attention during the last momentous years were, with few exceptions, present; besides the monarchs of Russia, Austria, Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria, and Wurtemberg, whose presence was, naturally enough, largely ornamental, there attended, in behalf of the governments of Europe, such men as the Englishmen Castlereagh and Wellington, the Frenchman Talleyrand, the Prussian Hardenberg, and the Austrian Metternich. But before the Congress of Vienna had ended its labors, the military coalition, which the congress represented, was once more called upon to take the field. For, in March, 1815, the news reached the sovereigns of Vienna that Napoleon had made his escape from Elba, and had once more landed in France.

Napoleon's
return from
Elba,

Mar. 1, 1815.

The resolution formed by Napoleon in February, 1815, to try conclusions once more with united Europe was the resolution of despair. It was folly on the part of the allies to expect that a man like him, with a burning need of activity, would ever content himself with the little island-realm of Elba, especially as France, his willing prize, lay just across the water. It was equal folly on the part of Napoleon to fancy that he could thwart the will of united Europe; but being the man he was, there was a moral certainty that, sooner or later, he would make the attempt to do so. On March 1 he landed unexpectedly near Cannes, accompanied by a guard of eight hundred of his old veterans, who had been permitted to attend him in exile; and no sooner had he displayed his banners, than his former soldiers streamed to the standards to which they were attached with heart and soul by innumerable glorious memories. Marshal Ney, who was sent out by Louis XVIII. to take Napoleon captive, broke into tears at sight of his old leader, and folded him in his arms. There was no

resisting the magnetic power of the name Napoleon; the lukewarm partisans of the restored king, who recruited their forces largely from the middle class, fell away from the Bourbon monarch with even more than their customary alacrity, and while Louis again fled across the border, the hero of the soldiers and the common people entered Paris amidst the wildest acclamations.

The Hundred Days, as Napoleon's restoration is called, form a mere after-play to the great drama of the years 1812, 1813, and 1814, for there was never for a moment a chance of the emperor's success. The powers had hardly heard of the great soldier's return when they launched their excommunication against him, and converged their columns from all sides upon his capital. That Napoleon might under the circumstances win an encounter or two was undeniable; but that he would be crushed in the end was, from the first, certain as fate. The decision came in Belgium. There Wellington had gathered an English-German army, and thither marched to his assistance Marshal Blücher with his Prussians. These enemies, gathered against his northern frontier, Napoleon resolved to meet first. With his usual swiftness he fell upon Blücher on June 16 at Ligny, before this general could unite with Wellington, and beat him roundly. Leaving Marshal Grouchy with 30,000 men to pursue the Prussians, he next turned, on June 18, against Wellington.

Wellington, who had taken a strong defensive position near Waterloo, resolutely awaited the French attack. All the afternoon Napoleon hurled his infantry and cavalry against the iron duke's positions; he could not dislodge his enemy, and when, toward evening, the Prussians unexpectedly made their appearance on his right, he was caught between two fires, and totally ruined. Precipitately he fled to Paris and there abdicated a second time. Deserted by all in his

The Hundred Days—
an historical
interlude.

The battle of
Waterloo,
June 18, 1815.

Napoleon
sent to
St. Helena.

The Bourbon
Restoration.

2nd.
*Peace of
Paris.*

The perma-
nent results
of the French
Revolution
in France and
in Europe.

misfortunes, he now planned to escape to America, but on being recognized as he was about to embark, he was taken prisoner, and by the verdict of the European coalition conveyed, soon after, to the rocky, mid-Atlantic island of St. Helena.¹

At Paris, meanwhile, the allies were celebrating their victory by again raising Louis XVIII. to the throne (Second Peace of Paris) on conditions somewhat more severe for France than those of the year before.

Thus the Revolution was over. It had begun with an attack upon the Bourbons and it had ended by restoring them. Had all the enthusiasm, the frenzy of the last twenty-five years been for nothing? Certainly not. In the first place, the re-established Bourbon monarchy was not and could not be the absolute monarchy of 1789. Then the French Revolution had swept away, not only in France, but in Europe generally, the lingering rubbish of feudalism, and in the place of feudalism had set up the basic principles of democracy. To speak summarily it had destroyed the principle of class privilege and established in its stead the principle of social equality; it had proclaimed the principle of individual liberty, especially in matters of religion; finally, it had announced the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. And these principles have become, in the course of the nineteenth century, in spite of the opposition from absolutistic and feudal quarters, the foundation of modern life.

¹ At St. Helena Napoleon died (1821), after a captivity of six years.

CHAPTER II

THE ATTEMPT TO GOVERN EUROPE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES AND ARTICLES OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1815-30) ↓

THE battle of Waterloo having rung down the curtain on the great Napoleonic drama, the plenipotentiaries at Vienna could, in all peace of mind, bring their deliberations to a close. They were embodied in the Acts of the Congress of Vienna,* and, than these, no political treaties have ever been more universally condemned. But there is really something to be said for the Viennese treaties. First, let it be remembered that the mere size of the task which was presented to the Congress was immense. Then there was the conflict to adjust between the ancient territorial rights, which had been impaired or destroyed by the revolutionary wars, and the new territorial rights, which had, in consequence of these wars, come into being. Taking all things into consideration, it was not unnatural that governments, which had suffered so severely from revolution as the governments represented at Vienna, should have inclined toward a reactionary policy. It was not found difficult, therefore, for them to agree that the principle should be adopted to restore, as far as possible, the pre-revolutionary sovereigns or their heirs, and put them in possession of their old or an equivalent territory. This dominant principle of the Congress received the name of "legitimacy," and its staunchest champion became the Austrian minister, Prince Metternich.

The Congress of Vienna ruled by conservative principles.

↓ Müller, *Pol. Hist. of Recent Times*.

*See Stephens' *Revolutionary Europe*, ch. XI.

↓ Bryce (*A. R. & C.*), pp. 397-403.

Müller, *Life of Metternich*, ch. VIII.

Extravagance
of the
reactionists.

Now such a principle certainly has its excuse, but the Congress of Vienna made the mistake of applying it blindly and in direct contravention, in frequent cases, to the rights of nationality and to the popular demand of free institutions. Only the mastering longing for rest, which had come over Europe after the unparalleled agitation of the last twenty-five years, explains why the very arbitrary arrangements of the Congress were accepted without protest. Sooner or later, however, a protest was sure to be made. The various peoples of Europe would remember the national and liberal ideas, which had been made common property by the Revolution, and then the narrow, reactionary policy of the Congress would become the subject of criticism and attack. In fact, the substance of the history of the nineteenth century* is the conflict between the reactionary policy adopted by the governments at the Congress of Vienna and the expanding national and liberal ideas of the people themselves.

The territorial
reconstruction
of the great
powers.

The Congress of Vienna concerned itself, first of all, with the restoration of the great powers. The two German powers, Prussia and Austria, acquired a territory as extensive but not identical with that enjoyed before the era of Napoleon. Though they gave up their claims to most of their Polish provinces, they received ample compensation, Austria in Italy, and Prussia in western Germany. The Polish provinces surrendered by Austria and Prussia were given to Czar Alexander, who generously agreed to unite them with parts of his own Polish spoils, and form them into a new kingdom of Poland, with himself as king. England was rewarded for her share in the victory over Napoleon by a number of French and Dutch colonies, notably South Africa (the Cape) and Malta. Thus each one of the great powers which had contributed to the overthrow of the Corsican conqueror was not only re-

** especially the first half*

stored to its former condition, but received a substantial increase.

The Congress encountered its greatest difficulties in arranging the affairs of Italy and Germany. As regards Italy, these difficulties were finally met by the application, in a loose way, to the Italian situation of the principle of legitimacy. The kingdom of Naples¹ (also called the kingdom of the Two Sicilies) was restored to the "legitimate" Bourbon king; the Pope got back the States of the Church; Tuscany was returned to its legal sovereign, a younger member of the House of Hapsburg; Piedmont, increased by the Republic of Genoa, was restored to the king of Sardinia; and Lombardy and Venice, far and away the richest provinces of Italy, were delivered over to Austria. There were also established a number of smaller states—for instance, Parma, Modena, Lucca—but it will be seen at a glance that the dominant power of the peninsula, on the basis of these arrangements, was Austria.

The "legitimate" rulers restored in Italy.

As for Germany, the Napoleonic wars had been a blessing in disguise. To note only one result: they had destroyed the old impotent Empire, and had reduced the number of sovereign states from over three hundred to thirty-nine.² Certainly this last revolution had vastly improved the chances for a new German unity. But the obstacles in the way of such a movement were still too great to be immediately overcome. From century-old habit the thirty-nine states looked upon each other with ill-favor, and even if the lesser ones could have mastered their mutual distrust, there

Instead of unity, Germany gets the *Bund*.

¹ Napoleon's creature, King Murat of Naples, tried to head an insurrection against the Bourbon king, but was caught and executed (1815).

² The thirty-nine states may, for convenience sake, be divided into three groups: 1, large states, Austria and Prussia; 2, middle states, Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover, Wurtemberg, all raised to the rank of kingdoms by Napoleon; 3, small states, Hesse, Weimar, etc.

still remained as a barrier to union the ineradicable jealousy between Austria and Prussia. Under these untoward circumstances, the utmost concession of the sovereign states to the popular demand for unity was a loose confederation called *Bund*.^{*} The constitution of the *Bund* provided for a Diet[#] at Frankfurt, to which the governments of the thirty-nine states were invited to send delegates, but as the constitution carefully omitted giving those delegates any power, the Diet could enact no laws to speak of, and the *Bund* remained a farce.

We have already seen that the point of departure for the deliberations of the Congress of Vienna was the hatred of revolution. This hatred developed into a fanatical faith, and in order to support better the cause of quiet and order against revolutionary disturbers, it was agreed on the part of the more ardent of the reactionary powers—Russia, Austria, and Prussia—to form what is known in history as the Holy Alliance. The Holy Alliance[#] was on its face nothing more than a pledge on the part of Czar Alexander, Emperor Francis, and King Frederick William to rule in accordance with the precepts of the Bible, but as these precepts were understood to be absolutist and reactionary, the Holy Alliance meant in reality the determination to fight revolution with united forces wherever it showed itself.

The first revolution to shake Europe out of the unworthy stupor, into which she had fallen on the overthrow of Napoleon, occurred in Spain. The fall of Napoleon had brought back to that country the deposed Bourbon monarch, Ferdinand VII. While his subjects had engaged in his behalf in one of the most heroic struggles of history, he had enjoyed a luxurious captivity in southern France, from which he never once thought of escaping to put himself at the head of his people. This fact sufficiently char-

*The German Federal Diet was established June 8, 1815; and this was confirmed, but modified, by the Final Act of Vienna, May 18, 1818 (in a reactionary way)

↑ M. J. P. Handley's *Principles*, vol. I., No. 3.

The Holy Alliance,
Sept. 1815.

↑ M. J. P. Handley's *Principles*, vol. I., No. 3.

Reaction in Spain followed by revolution.

acterizes the man. On his return to Spain¹ he thought only of recovering all the autocratic rights of his ancestors. He began his rule with a perjury. Although he had sworn to govern according to a constitution, once in possession of the country, he deliberately set aside the constitution which the patriots had enacted during his absence, and which is always referred to as the Constitution of 1812, and never substituted another for it. Then he started out on a policy which involved the abolition of all the Napoleonic reforms, the restoration of the monasteries, and the persecution of the patriots. By 1820 his government had made itself so intolerable that the liberals rose in revolt. The king, who was a coward at heart, immediately bowed to the storm, and restored the Constitution of 1812.² Before reactionary Europe had recovered from the surprise and indignation caused by the news from Spain, a revolution similar to that of Spain shook the kingdom of Naples. In Naples the Congress of Vienna had restored another Bourbon king, also named Ferdinand. This Bourbon king was perhaps the very worst specimen of the reactionary monarch then to be found in Europe,^{*} and his government was not only oppressive but despicably impotent. A mere public demonstration, growing out of a general merry-making over the victory of the Spanish liberals, sufficed to frighten the king into the acceptance of a constitution similar to that of Spain.

In view of these threatening movements in Spain and in Naples, Metternich,[#] the Austrian premier, called together a European Congress, first at Troppau[#] (1820), and later at Laibach (1821). At these conferences he put the question before the great powers, whether revolutions should be suf-

¹ Ferdinand returned to a Spain shorn of her colonies in Mexico and South America. During the Napoleonic wars these colonies had been forced to govern themselves, and had taken such a liking to independence that they refused to put themselves again under the Spanish yoke. Finally, in the course of the Twenties, they declared themselves free republics.

^{*} Stephens (Revol'y. Europe, p. 358) takes a more favorable view of Ferdinand IV. of Naples.

who, in 1819, had brought together the ministers of the leading German Courts at Karlsbad in Bohemia, and prevented their assent to a series of measures designed to secure the freedom of the press, restraining military trading, forbidding societies and political meetings, and creating a sort of international police force.

Revolution in Naples, 1820.

A similar movement had occurred in Portugal in Sept. of the same year.

Metternich persuades Europe to put down revolution.

(Cont'd.) These meetings at Karlsbad resulted in the final Act of Vienna. See U.S. C. Transcripts for the 20. See U.S. C. Transcripts, vol. I, No. 3, 2nd ed.

ferred, or whether Europe would not be acting more wisely to pledge herself to uphold the old order by interposing in Spain and Naples, and by threatening to interpose wherever the sacred rights of a legitimate monarch were attacked. Backed by his friends of the Holy Alliance, he carried his point at these Congresses; Europe formally adopted a policy of repression against revolution, and initiated its programme by charging Austria with the restoration in Naples of what Metternich was pleased to call "order."

Austria makes
an end of the
constitution of
Naples.

Of course it was hardly to be expected that the Neapolitans would stand up against Austria. At the approach of the Austrian army, the liberal government immediately went to pieces, and King Ferdinand was restored as absolute monarch. When the Piedmontese tried to raise an insurrection in the Austrian rear, this movement was likewise put down by Austrian intervention. Thus the whole peninsula fell practically into the hands of Austria (1821), which power from this time forth drew upon it the passionate hatred of the Italian patriots.

France re-
stores despot-
ism in Spain,
1823.

This first success so greatly delighted Metternich and his reactionary henchmen that they resolved to play a still bolder game. At a new Congress, held at Verona (1822), *Re* they resolved on intervention in Spain, and this time commissioned France with the execution of their verdict. In obedience to the orders of the powers, a French army, under the duke of Angoulême, the nephew of the king, marched across the Pyrenees, and overthrew the Spanish liberals. As a result King Ferdinand was restored, and celebrated his return to absolute power by a series of cruel executions. Thus the reaction maintained its grip on Europe. In the face of its despotic repression of free opinion and popular action, the terrorized peoples began to lose hope in their future, and for awhile silently accepted what they could not change.

(reference for preceding page): By the "law-
power of making laws in conjunction with the
king and to lose the right of vetoing it. Minister
the press was to be secured, and a Council of State

While the west was thus cowed and degraded by a ridiculous tutelage, a little country in the far east boldly ventured to assert the inalienable right of every people to liberty and self-government. This little country was the historic land of Greece. The very name of Greece had almost fallen into oblivion when, in 1821, the inhabitants of the old peninsula aroused Europe to surprise and enthusiasm by rising concertedly against the power of the Turks, in whose repulsive bondage they had lain for many centuries. The Sultan in his rage at the audacity of the little people allowed himself to be hurried into abominable atrocities (20,000 Greeks, for instance, were murdered in the island of Chios), but the Greeks resisted the Turkish tyranny every whit as bravely as their ancestors had, at Marathon and Thermopylæ, held out against the Persian invasion, and, though defeated, could not be subdued. In the year 1825 the Sultan saw himself reduced to calling in the aid of his great vassal, Mehemed Ali, the Pasha of Egypt. Mehemed Ali had, by favoring European reforms, created a strong army and navy, and though nominally a subject of the Sultan, was really more powerful than his master. Mehemed, desirous of putting his suzerain under obligations to himself, willingly responded to the Sultan's appeal; he fitted out an army under his son Ibrahim, which seized and terribly devastated the Morea (Peloponnesus). One year of Ibrahim's warfare made it clear that the Greek revolt would be extinguished, sooner or later, by streams of blood.

Up to this point the governments of Europe had taken no part in the struggle, though it was a Christian nation which was fighting against Mohammedans. The European peoples, indeed, had exhibited a sympathy which stood out in noble contrast with the apathy of the rulers, and many were the volunteers who, joining the Greek ranks, had sac-

The Re-
nascence of
Greece, 1821.

stitution of 1812, "Parliament was to have the
king, and if they passed a law three times the
were to be responsible to Parliament. Freedom of
was to advise the king on questions of peace or war

England,
France, and
Russia inter-
fere in behalf
of Greece.

rificed wealth and life for the sacred soil of the old Hellenic culture, but scattered volunteers¹ do not decide great causes, and the governments, as has been said, remained cold and indifferent. However, the interference in behalf of the Turks, on the part of the Egyptian, Mehemed Ali, persuaded the powers that they could no longer honorably stand aside. The first to move was the English minister, Canning. He succeeded in persuading Czar Nicholas, who had succeeded Alexander in 1825, to interpose with him in behalf of the Greeks. France also lent her aid to Canning's project of intervention, and when Ibrahim on the demand of the western powers refused to put an end to hostilities, the united French and English fleets attacked him at Navarino, and totally ruined his naval power (1827).

Russia forces
the Sultan to
acknowledge
the independ-
ence of
Greece, 1829.

The Sultan now saw that he must grant the Greeks their independence, but before he had made up his mind to humble himself in so conspicuous a manner, the Czar Nicholas, impatient of further delay, declared war against him (1828), and invaded the Danubian provinces. The next year (1829) the Russians crossed the Balkans, and descended upon Constantinople. But before they could take that city, the Sultan had given way completely. In the Peace of Adrianople (1829) he granted Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, the leading provinces of the Balkan peninsula, Christian governors, and recognized the independence of Greece. A conference of the powers at London, held to settle the affairs of their *protégé*, determined that Greece was to be a free monarchy, and offered the crown to prince Otto of Bavaria. This Otto ruled as first king of Greece until the year 1862. The most notable fact of his reign is that in 1843 he granted the country a representative constitution.

¹ Lord Byron (died at Missolonghi, 1824) holds an honorable place in this European band.

The independence of Greece was the first great victory of liberalism in Europe since the Congress of Vienna. It was destined to be the prelude of a much greater one in the old home of revolution—France.

The battle of Waterloo had for the second time brought the Bourbons back to France. But upon the second restoration, as upon the first, wise men everywhere looked with apprehension. For, unfortunately, the Bourbons and the emigrant nobles returned with all the old prejudices with which they had departed; during their long foreign residence they had, as Napoleon said, learned nothing, and forgotten nothing. Louis XVIII. encountered no opposition on his entry into Paris, but he aroused no enthusiasm, either. France, momentarily exhausted by her tremendous struggles against Europe, seemed to be willing to submit to anything. But, nevertheless, her submission was deceptive. To certain benefits of the Revolution she was attached with all her heart. Thus the country was fervently devoted to the new social system, by which the privileged classes were abolished and everybody was equal before the law.* Would the restored Bourbons, who were by force of tradition and training identified with the political ideas of the *ancien régime*, be able to govern a modernized France, reared in the faith of liberty and equality?

The danger of the Bourbon restoration in France.

The allied monarchs themselves entertained grave doubts about the wisdom of the Bourbon restoration. In order to set the king upon the right path, they insisted, before they would leave French soil, that Louis XVIII. pledge himself to a constitutional government. Louis XVIII., who was happily the most sensible and moderate member of the royalist party, very willingly acceded, and published a constitution* (*la charte*), by which he accepted the situation created by the Revolution, and assured the people a share in the government by means of two legislative

Louis XVIII. grants a constitution. June, 1814.

Old Régime, to the Democracy, day of to-day.

* H. J. P. Tranchesi's Reprints, #12, vol I., No. 3.

† As in Greece where the Tyrannies carried the City States over from Aristocracy to Democracy, so in France where the tyranny of Napoleon.

chambers, the Chamber of Peers and the Chamber of Deputies.

Louis's liberal beginnings.

Being himself animated by good-will toward his people, Louis XVIII. persisted for a time in a liberal policy. The right of suffrage, which by the constitution was possessed by those only who owned a very considerable property, was somewhat extended (1817), and certain burdensome restrictions on individual liberty were removed. But unfortunately Louis was old and feeble and soon permitted the ultra-royalist faction at the court to gain the upper hand in his council. At the head of this faction stood the count of Artois, Louis's brother and heir to the throne. For a time Louis struggled against the ultra-royalists, but when the duke of Berry, the son of Artois and the hope of the royal House, was murdered by a fanatic (1820), the king ceased offering resistance, and the reactionary tide set in definitely. The liberal members of the cabinet were dismissed, the suffrage and the freedom of the press again restricted. France became the vassal of Metternich and the Holy Alliance, and, in the year 1823, accepted the shameful commission to put down liberalism in Spain and restore the absolute monarchy of the perjured and vicious Ferdinand VII. (*see p. 338*).

His reactionary ending.

Charles X. (1824-30) attempts to restore absolutism.

When Louis XVIII. was succeeded on his death (1824) by his brother Charles X., things rapidly went from bad to worse. Charles X., as count of Artois, had been the head of the noble *émigrés*, and was as much detested by the people as he was idolized by the feudal party. The reign of reaction was now unchecked. Among other measures, one billion francs were voted to the nobles to indemnify them for their losses during the revolution. Finally, it was planned to muzzle the press and gag the universities. But at this point the Chamber of Deputies refused to serve the reaction further, and had to be dissolved (1830). Thereupon the

prime minister, the unpopular duke of Polignac, urged the king to take by decree what he could not get by law, and on July 26, 1830, there appeared under the king's seal four ordinances, which arbitrarily limited the list of voters, and put an end to the freedom of printing. The ordinances substantially meant the abandonment by the king of legal courses, the revocation of the constitution, and the return to absolutism. Did France have no answer to so monstrous an attempt?

The July
ordinances,
1830.

*The first Ordinance forbade the publication of any journal without royal permission; the second dissolved the Chamber of Deputies; the third raised the property qualification of voters, established a system of double election, altered the duration of Parliaments; and re-enacted the obsolete clause of the Charter confining the initiative in all legislation to the Government.

Other Ordinances convoked a Chamber to be elected under the new rules, and called to the Council of State a number of the most notorious ultra-Royalists and fanatics in France.

CHAPTER III

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830 IN FRANCE AND ELSEWHERE

The July revolution at Paris.

THE four ordinances of July 26 caused an immediate tumult in the capital. Bands of students and workmen paraded the streets cheering the constitution. But their cheers changed soon to the more ominous cries: down with ministers! down with the Bourbons! The king was amusing himself at the time at St. Cloud, and did not raise a hand in his defence. The few troops in the city soon proved themselves inadequate to restrain the multitude, and after a number of sharp encounters, in which many citizens were killed, withdrew into the country. For a moment it seemed that the capital was delivered over to anarchy.

The moderates offer the crown to Louis Philippe.

In this confusion a number of prominent members of the middle-class or bourgeoisie met at the house of the banker Lafitte to discuss what was to be done. They were men equally averse to tyranny and to disorder; all that France needed and desired according to them was a genuinely constitutional monarchy. They therefore resolved to concur in the deposition of Charles X. and his heirs, and offer the crown to the popular head of the secondary branch of the House of Bourbon, Louis Philippe, duke of Orléans. Louis Philippe was the son of that disreputable duke of Orléans (Egalité) who had voted for the death of Louis XVI., and had been guillotined by the Terror. As a young man he had served in the Revolutionary army, and though he had abandoned France in 1793,

* Malleten, *Life of Metternich*, ch. IX.
 Fyffe, *Hist. of Mod. Europe*.
 Andrews, *Hist. Devel. of Mod. Europe*.
 Vol. II, ch. 22. *Pol. Hist. of France & E.*

↑ For France since 1815,
 see volume (Grand Nation)
 ch. XVII.

and little had been heard of him since, he was reputed to be a man of firm, liberal principles. When the self-constituted committee of the Parisian moderates waited upon him to tender him the crown, he at first feigned reluctance, but was finally persuaded to accept the governorship of the realm until such time as the Chamber of Deputies, representing the country, had come to a decision.

Charles X. was all this time off at his palace of St. Cloud, lulled by all sorts of fond illusions. He inclined from the first to treat the Parisian rising as a trifle, and was not aroused to its significance until his troops were driven out of Paris. Then he hurriedly cancelled the obnoxious ordinances, and in order to save his House even tendered his own abdication in favor of his grandson. But these concessions came too late ; his ambassadors were not so much as heard in Paris, and reluctantly Charles X. turned his back for the third and last time upon France to seek refuge across the Channel.

The flight of
Charles X.

When the Chambers assembled at the beginning of August, they immediately declared the throne vacant, and offered the crown to Louis Philippe. He had already appeared in the city some days before, and had, after publicly assuming the tricolor, the emblem of the Revolution, undertaken the government temporarily as lieutenant-governor. Now he hesitated no longer to take the final step ; at the solicitation of the Chambers, he solemnly swore to observe the constitution, and adopted the style of Louis Philippe, King of the French. Thus France had inaugurated a new experiment in government which is named from the Orleanist dynasty, now promoted to the control of affairs.

Louis Philippe
becomes King
of the French.

Meanwhile the report of the July Revolution in Paris had travelled abroad. Ever since the seventeenth century France had assumed in Europe the leadership in political ideas. Every action upon her public stage was watched

The July revolution awakens an echo in Europe.

by her neighbors with eager interest. Therefore the fall of the Bourbons and the victory of the people sent a flutter of eager hope through the nations which had been injured and shackled by the Congress of Vienna. Evidently the time had at last come to venture a blow, and in the course of the year 1830 country after country, imitating the example set by the Parisians, raised its voice in behalf of freedom and self-government.

The revolution
in Belgium.

The most immediate stir was caused among the north-eastern neighbors of France, the Belgians. And perhaps no people had suffered more than the Belgians from the high-handed methods of the Congress of Vienna. Without even the pretense of consulting the wishes of the people, the country of Belgium, once known as the Spanish and then as the Austrian Netherlands, and from 1794 to 1815 an integral part of France, had, at Vienna, been incorporated with Holland. The idea of the Congress was to create a state to the northeast of France strong enough to resist a renewal of French aggression. The kingdom of the Netherlands, as the fused states of Holland and Belgium were called, was given to the ancient Dutch House of Orange, and was expected to keep a close eye, in behalf of the European peace, on the old disturber of that peace—France.

Antagonism
between Hol-
land and Bel-
gium.

This idea, taken by itself, was so good that it is perhaps pardonable that the Congress overlooked a great number of insurmountable details. Holland and Belgium had been for centuries travelling their own roads, and had developed each its own set of material and intellectual interests. Thus while Holland was a great colonizing and commercial country, Belgium was primarily an industrial country; further, Holland was Protestant, Belgium was Catholic; and, most incisive of all differences, Holland was Teutonic, and Belgium, though it was by blood and speech of mixed

Teutonic and French character, was by civilization and feeling entirely French.

The union therefore caused discomfort to the Belgians from the first. They protested against the over-lordship which Holland, the smaller partner, was exercising, and finally demanded a separate administration. When King William resisted these claims they resolved, in August, 1830, to imitate the Parisians, and accordingly revolted. There followed a month of juggling and negotiations, but in September the Dutch army clashed with the populace of Brussels, and after a warm encounter was forced to evacuate the city. Now that blood had flowed and animal passions had been excited, an amicable adjustment became impossible. Too late King William offered to accede to the Belgian demands. When his offer was rejected, he prepared for war.

The breach,
August, 1830.

At this point, the European powers became alarmed, and at a conference held at London resolved to interfere. Although the eastern powers would gladly have supported the House of Orange, they had troubles of their own to attend to, and so reluctantly acceded to the proposition of France and England to grant the Belgians independence. This matter having been settled without much difficulty, the powers next approved of a Belgian congress to take into its hands the internal affairs of the country. When this congress met (November, 1830), it declared in principle for a limited monarchy, and then set about constructing an appropriate constitution. When all was done, it offered the crown to Prince Leopold, of the German House of Saxe-Coburg, and Leopold actually assumed the government in 1831, with the title of king of the Belgians. King William of Holland, jealous of his rights, and chagrined at the action of the powers, made ready to resist the Belgian independence by arms, but a combined naval and military demonstration by England and France at his borders brought him to

Belgium made
an independ-
ent kingdom.

his senses, and in July, 1833, he finally bowed to the inevitable. Holland and Belgium have ever since gone their own way under separate kings. It is to the credit of King Leopold (1831-65) that, although a foreigner, he should have made himself entirely acceptable to his new people, and that under his wise rule Belgium prospered as she had not prospered since the evil day, when she fell into the clutches of Spain.

Germany and Italy.

As the two great central European countries, Germany and Italy, had received very ungenerous treatment at the Congress of Vienna, it might be expected that the July revolution would create a widely sympathetic movement among them. But although they enjoyed neither national unity nor freedom, and had every cause for discontent, their revolutions of 1830 were, for different reasons, most insignificant affairs.

In Germany the small states become constitutional.

In Germany every important development hinged, naturally, upon the action of the two great states, Prussia and Austria. But owing partly to the ancient habit of obedience, and partly to the rather effective administration of the government, the people of these two states did not, in 1830, stir against their reactionary monarchs. However, in a great many of the smaller states, like Brunswick, Hanover, and Saxony, the cry was raised for a liberal constitution, and in each instance the princes had to give way, and establish a modern representative government. As the south German states, the most notable of which were Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and Baden, had, by the free act of their sovereigns, been granted liberal constitutions soon after 1815, the result of the commotions of 1830 for Germany may be summed up thus: With that year practically all the smaller German states had declared for sensible constitutional progress, Austria and Prussia, the natural leaders, alone persisting in the antiquated absolute system.

Of course it was clear as day that before long the people of Austria and Prussia would be affected by the same aspirations which had been manifested among their smaller neighbors.

The limited energy which the revolution of 1830 manifested in Germany spent itself, as the results witness, on the demand for popular local governments. The revolution made no attempt to remedy the other great difficulty of Germany, her national disintegration. The Diet of the *Bund* representing the princes and not the people, was left untouched by the revolution of 1830, and went on sitting at Frankfurt, as feeble and despised as ever. Some years evidently would have to pass before patient Germany had gathered the further energy to protest against this farce of a national government.

The revolution of 1830 not a national movement.

If in Italy there was aroused no great commotion by the July revolution, it was due to the lingering memories of the unfortunate Neapolitan insurrection ten years before (1820), and of the armed intervention of Austria which had followed. Ever since, Metternich was keeping a close watch upon the peninsula, and holding himself ready to fall at a moment's notice from his vantage-point of Lombardy upon any disturber of the peace. The great secret society of the *carbonari*, which tried to bind together the patriotic Italians of all parts of the peninsula for the purpose of a concerted action in behalf of an independent and liberal Italy, agitated, therefore, in vain. Only in isolated regions, notably in the States of the Church, the people rose in 1830 against their governors. But the Austrians, just as in 1821, immediately, on receipt of the news, invaded the disturbed territories, scattered the insurgents, and established the old tyrannies. The total result for Italy of the revolution of 1830 was an increased hatred of the Austrian master and meddler.

The Italian revolution of 1830 of no consequence.

Poland
in 1830.

These agitations of Germany and Italy were mere trifles compared to the great insurrection which, in consequence of the Parisian revolution, took place in Poland. The reader will remember that at the Congress of Vienna Poland was partially restored. Prussia and Austria having surrendered for an adequate compensation certain of their Polish spoils to Russia, the Czar Alexander, who was a man of extremely generous disposition and full of kindly feeling toward the unfortunate Poles, seized the opportunity afforded by this acquisition to re-establish, with somewhat restricted boundaries, the old kingdom of Poland. Although a despot in Russia, he gave the kingdom of Poland a constitution, and promised to rule there as a constitutional king. Under him Poland had a separate administration and its own army. This was certainly something; but unfortunately it was not enough for the proud nation, which remembered that it had been a great power when Russia, its present master, was no more than a mean and snow-bound duchy of Muscovy.

Everywhere there were murmurs of discontent, and when the magnanimous Alexander died (1825), and was succeeded by his severe and unpopular brother, Nicholas, they swelled to ominous proportions. In November, 1830, under the leadership of a few young enthusiasts, the capital, Warsaw, suddenly rose in insurrection.

The revolution
at first
successful.

The Russian governor of Poland was Constantine, the Czar's brother. He lost his head during the riot at Warsaw, and almost immediately abandoned the city. As he marched off toward the Russian frontier the Polish provinces rose in rebellion behind him, declaring themselves of one mind and heart with the patriots of the capital. Thus, the Poles being, before a week had passed, masters in their own land, they set up a provisional government at Warsaw, and prepared to defend themselves.

Plainly the condition of success was unity of purpose and action. But that was the one thing which could not be had. The landed nobility, with its high-flying feudal notions, could not be made to agree with the democracy in the city ; quarrels between the two classes were patched up only to break out again ; and with weakness, disunion, and treason annihilating the government which they left behind, the raw Polish soldiers marched out to meet the great Russian army, organized by a superior intelligence, and directed by the energy of a single will. But in spite of disadvantages, the Poles stood their ground with all their ancient gallantry and death-defying courage. Kosciusko, the hero of their splendid defence of 1795*, would have had no occasion to blush for them. But mere valor was of no avail ; at Ostrolenka (May, 1831) the Russians overwhelmed the Poles with their numbers. A few months later (September, 1831) the Russian army, assisted by a traitor in the Polish government, again entered Warsaw. Thus the seal of fate was set upon the *finis Poloniae* pronounced in the previous century.

The revolution
put down,
1831.

When Czar Nicholas again took hold, it was with the grim resolve to remove all chances of another Polish revolution. He firmly believed that he had been trifled with by the Poles because he had proved himself too kind. He would not err in that way any more. He now determined that Poland should be merged with Russia as a Russian province, and kept in check by a Russian army of occupation ; the very language of the Poles was to be replaced by the Russian tongue ; and their Catholic faith was to make room for the Greek Orthodox Church, of which the Czar was the head. Poland now fell into a sad eclipse. Bound and gagged she lay at the feet of Russia ; but as long as there was life, her people were determined to cling to their national memories. And they have clung to them to this day.

Poland
definitely
absorbed by
Russia.

* See p. 229.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOVERNMENT OF LOUIS PHILIPPE (1830-48) AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1848 *

Louis Philippe,
the citizen-
king.

MEANWHILE France, the country in which the revolutionary movement had begun, was experimenting with its new Orleanist government. Clearly the success of the venture depended, first of all, on the character of the new king and his power to conciliate the numerous opposition. And at first glance Louis Philippe, who was shrewd and well-meaning and quite without the ancient affectations of royalty, did not seem an unsuitable man for the royal office. But his situation was extremely perilous, for France was divided into four parties, three of which could not possibly be reconciled with the reigning government. The Bonapartists, the Bourbonists or Legitimists, and the Republicans, although differing radically among themselves, existed by virtue of governmental principles which were antagonistic to the Orleanist dynasty, and so there remained nothing for Louis Philippe to do but to identify himself with the party of quiet Constitutionalists which recruited its numbers from the well-to-do middle class or bourgeoisie. By that step, however, he declared himself not the head of the country, but the head of a party, and gave an undeniable basis to the derisive sobriquet of *roi-bourgeois* (citizen-king) fixed upon him by the opposition.

Growth of the
industrial
classes.

And there was another and unexpected reason why this championship of the capitalist middle class was likely to prove threatening. As is well known the most important

* Fyffe, *Hist. of Mod. Europe*.
Andrews, *Hist. Devel. of Mod. Europe*.
Miller, *Pol. Hist. of Recent Times*.

social fact of the nineteenth century is its industrial development. The increase of manufactures has drawn together in the cities vast aggregations of workmen, and the increase of intelligence has led these workmen to combine in trades-unions and political parties, and to demand from their employers increasing social benefits. The result has been the conflict of capital and labor, for which we have found no solution to this day. Now, at the time of Louis Philippe this conflict was just beginning, and the phenomenon being new, his government was thoroughly dismayed by it. What was to be made of the enthusiasts called socialists who were advancing all kinds of humane but dangerous programmes? That Louis Philippe should have treated these people with harshness is not particularly strange, but he ought to have considered that he was thereby alienating from his dynasty the whole working population of France, and turning them over to the Republicans.

Because of the natural preference of Louis Philippe for the middle class, the whole period of his government (1830-48) has been called the reign of the bourgeoisie. And most of the prominent advisers of the king were men of that estate. Their programme, as is usual with persons of the thriving middle class, had, on the whole, an honest, virtuous character, but was disfigured by occasional narrow prejudices. The leading men of the Chamber of Deputies were Guizot and Thiers, distinguished alike in their day for their literary labors,¹ and filled equally with eager patriotic zeal. They became determined rivals, dividing the Chamber between them, and occupying in turn the chief post in the ministry. Both were equally resolute in stand-

Guizot and Thiers, the king's advisers.

¹ Both are celebrated as historians. Guizot wrote a deeply philosophical treatise, called "The History of Civilization," and Thiers produced a brilliant narrative of the French Revolution, the Consulate, and the Empire.

ing by Louis Philippe and in fighting the plots of the Legitimists, the Bonapartists, and the Republicans, but they fell out over the important question of the enlargement of the voting body, which came more to the foreground every year, and finally caused a new revolution.

The leading
interest of
Louis Phil-
ippe's reign.

In these two matters, the putting down of the insurrections of the opposition and the enfranchisement of new classes of voters, lies the chief interest of the domestic history of Louis Philippe's reign. Legitimists and Republicans never ceased conspiring, but the government, ever on the watch, disposed of them without difficulty. It also disposed without difficulty of the Bonapartists. But as their two attempts to rout the government, although ludicrously feeble in themselves, had an astonishing sequel, it is necessary to give them a word.

After the death (1832) of Napoleon's only son at Vienna, the great emperor's nephew, Louis Napoleon, considered himself heir of the traditions of the House of Bonaparte. He had spent his youth in exile, chiefly in Switzerland, looking with longing eyes across the boundary toward the land of his dreams. In 1836 he resolved to see if the Napoleonic memories were still alive in France, and suddenly appeared at Strasburg. But the soldiers did not rise, as was expected, and Louis Napoleon was captured. At Paris they treated the matter as a joke ; the prince was put on board a vessel, and shipped to America. But in 1840 he tried his luck once more, this time by attempting a landing at Boulogne. The second fiasco was as signal as the first, but Louis Philippe's patience was now at an end, and he permitted the offender to be condemned to imprisonment for life. All Europe laughed heartily at the impotent revolutionist, but it was not to be denied that he had brought the name of Napoleon once more before the public, and that that fact might be of consequence. However, no

man then in authority in France could be persuaded to look upon the propaganda of the prisoner in a serious light. Bonapartism was regarded as dead. Therefore, when in 1846 Prince Louis evaded his jailers, and made his escape to England, nobody was in the least concerned.

At the very time when Prince Louis regained his freedom the question of the suffrage had entered a crisis. Among a population of 30,000,000, there were only 200,000 voters. The discontent of the masses at so absurd a situation was rapidly becoming ominous. Thiers, having a warmer feeling for the people than most Orleanists, proposed in the chambers again and again an extension of the suffrage. Guizot, who was then prime minister, and narrow-minded in proportion to his respectability, would not even listen to the new demands. Thiers and his friends thereupon resolved to stir up public opinion, and so force the minister's hand. They held popular meetings coupled with banquets all over the country. February 22, 1848, they set for a so-called Reform Banquet in Paris. When its arrangements were interfered with by the police, the meeting was given up, but the great crowd which had gathered for the celebration thereupon took to parading the streets and shouting for the deposition of Guizot.

The question of the extension of the suffrage.

The next day (February 23), the king dismissed the ministry and made an effort to conciliate the opposition, but a company of soldiers having fired at the mob, killing and wounding some fifty men, caused the passions of the people to flame up anew. Houses were sacked and the palace of the Tuileries surrounded by armed men. Finally, on February 24, Louis Philippe, convinced that discretion was the better part of valor, fled from his capital to take refuge, as Charles X. had done eighteen years before, in England.

The breakdown of the Orleanist monarchy, February, 1848.

The Orleanist monarchy might yet have been saved if the deputies, among whom the Constitutionalists had a

A republic
with a provi-
sional govern-
ment.

clear majority, had stood their ground like men, and proclaimed the succession of the young grandson of Louis Philippe, the count of Paris. But when the rioters broke into the parliamentary hall, the frightened members surrendered the field, and sought safety in flight. Thus the rabble, with the poet Lamartine at its head, found itself master of the legislature and of the situation. Spurred on to act with promptness, it then and there declared for a Republic, and appointed a provisional government of which Lamartine became the moving spirit.

The Socialist
demands.

Thus on February 24, 1848, the Republicans had won the day. But they were far from being a unanimous party. The Socialists formed an important wing of the Republican fold, and that they were not going to permit themselves to be simply merged with the majority appeared from the first. They secured a representation in the provisional government, and straightway demanded the proclamation of their Utopian programme. The provisional government had to give in so far as to proclaim the so-called "right to labor" and to establish "national workshops," where the unemployed of Paris were guaranteed a living in the service of the state. There were even some crack-brained agitators, who, going further, wanted the government to proclaim community in property and wives, but they were put off for the present.

Republicans
vs.
Socialists.

Meanwhile elections had been ordered for a National Assembly to settle in detail the forms of the new Republic. It met at the beginning of May, 1848, and straightway taking the control into its own hands, dismissed Lamartine's provisional government. Being composed largely of solid, order-loving Republicans from the country, the Assembly was imbued with the strongest antipathy toward the socialist city faction, which aspired to manage the state. Carefully it made ready to put an end to the prevalent confusion, and

win Paris back to the principles of law and decency. Great masses of troops were concentrated in the city ; then the most virulent and anārchistic of the disturbers were, after a short resistance (May), put under lock and key ; finally (June), the Assembly attacked the root of all the difficulties, the “ national workshops.”

This much-trumpeted socialist venture had, after a few months’ trial, proved an unequivocal failure. Of course the guarantee which it offered of daily pay had drawn an immense rabble to Paris. But as there were no adequate provisions for employing the applicants industrially, they had to be put to useless digging and carting. Nevertheless, in June, 1848, over 100,000 “ national workmen ” were on the government’s pay-roll. The drain on the treasury was terrible ; besides, it was perfectly plain to every man with eyes to see that the expense was incurred for a profitless phantom. The good sense of the nation as well as of the Assembly revolted at the further continuation of this socialist farce.

“ The national workshops.”

When the Socialists recognized by the proposition to dissolve the “ national workshops ” that the day of their favor was over, they rose in insurrection in order to get by force what they could not get by law. They barricaded themselves in their quarters, and for four days (June 23 to 26) made a heroic stand against the troops under General Cavaignac, who in this crisis had been appointed dictator. Never had Paris, accustomed as it was to rioting, witnessed street-fights of such dimensions as it witnessed now: the Socialists were not put down until ten thousand men had been stretched dead or wounded upon the pavements. Of the captured insurgents four thousand were transported across the seas. The frightful disease of the state had demanded a frightful remedy ; but recovery was the reward, for socialism was ruined and order established.

The Socialists
overthrown,
June, 1848.

The new
republican
constitution.

The National Assembly, now at last in unquestioned authority, turned next to its business of making a republican constitution. It voted that the legislative function should be entrusted to a single chamber, elected on the basis of universal suffrage, and it assigned the executive, in imitation of the United States, to a president, elected directly by the people for a period of four years. When the constitution prepared on the above lines was ready, the Assembly ordered the presidential election (Dec. 10, 1848). To the surprise of Europe, Lamartine and Cavaignac, who had been most in sight during the previous months, received only a comparatively few votes; the vast majority of ballots were cast for Prince Louis Napoleon.

Louis Napo-
leon, presi-
dent.

Napoleon a
threat to the
republic.

Prince Louis Napoleon was already present in France. Having been elected to the National Assembly, he had taken his seat in the month of September. His election, a few months later, to the presidency was an ominous symptom of public opinion, filling the genuine Republicans with keen apprehension. The astonishingly large majority of the imperial pretender clearly revealed that although France had a republican constitution, four-fifths at least of her people were still monarchists at heart.

(France cont'd. in ch. VI.)

CHAPTER V

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND ITALY *

FROM 1830 to 1848, Germany and Italy, divided and impotent, were delivered over to reactionary influences. But in both countries the liberal and national spirit, fostered by the poets and writers, was steadily growing. These eighteen years of government by repression form a sad period; but its burden was lightened for the patriots by the conviction that the people were slowly ripening toward another movement in behalf of constitutionalism and unity more compact and reasoned than that of 1830. And it is a fact that even without the Paris Revolution of 1848, the revolt of Central Europe against the spirit of reaction could hardly have been long put off. As it was, the news of the Paris revolution straightway set both eastern neighbors of France on fire.

That city which the spirit of reaction had, as it were, declared its chosen residence, was one of the first to feel the breath of the new freedom. On March 13, 1848, Vienna rose and drove old Prince Metternich, who more than any man had shaped the events of the first half of the century, from the chancery of the Austrian empire, and from the capital. Thereupon concession on concession was wrested from the government. Terrified by the unexpected strength displayed by the revolutionists, the Emperor Ferdinand had to promise a constitution and a parliament. Absolutism in Austria seemed to have been laid in its grave.

Central
Europe
prepared to
follow
example
set by France.

The revolution in Vienna,
March, 1848.

*Revolutions of 1848-9 in Italy,
Austria-Hungary, and Germany.
by Edmund Maurice.

*Gyfffe, Hist. of Mod.
Europe.
Andress, Hist. of Mod.
Europe.
Müller, Pol. Hist. of
Recent Times.

Revolution
throughout
Austria and
Germany.

The news of the revolution at Vienna had hardly been carried abroad when it was followed by sympathetic action in all the component parts of the polyglot empire of the Hapsburgs. Germany, too, on which the hand of Metternich had lain with particular heaviness, was seized with exultation at his fall. There were riots in many of the small states of Germany, and on March 18, Berlin followed the example of the German sister-city of the south. The king of Prussia, Frederick William IV. (1840-61), at the request of the citizens, withdrew the troops from the capital, and promised a parliamentary government. Thus by a single united effort the German people of north and south seemed to have realized all their liberal aspirations.

The German
patriots call to-
gether a Ger-
man Parlia-
ment.

But another aspiration—the longing for an effective German union—had always been closely associated with the constitutional programme. Most wisely the various local leaders, elated over the liberal successes, argued that now or never was the time to strike for a national government. Having met in council, they agreed to call a general German Parliament for the purpose of establishing the bases of a federal government.

The position
of the German
Parliament.

The German Parliament, elected by universal suffrage, met in May, 1848, at Frankfurt-on-the-Main. It was composed in large part of the most distinguished men of the land, and was animated with a generous zeal for German unity. But intelligence and zeal alone do not suffice for lasting performances; what heart and mind conceive, force must realize. Thus the great question before the German Parliament was not so much: would it prove itself *wise* enough, but rather would it have the *force* to effect the changes which it was about to advocate; in other words, could it make good the claim which it was putting forward of being the sovereign body in Germany?

For the first few months the German Parliament expe-

rienced no difficulties. The terrified governments bowed to its authority. Even the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia seemed to have resigned their sovereign rights to the democratic body sitting at Frankfurt. But suppose the case that, on the lessening of the popular pressure at Vienna and Berlin, one or the other of the great monarchs refused to accept a decree forwarded from the Parliament—what then? There would then be a conflict of authorities which would furnish a test of the relative strength of the new national assembly and the old state governments.

Certainty of struggle between the Parliament and the governments.

The test was offered, and that soon enough, by the Schleswig-Holstein complication. The two duchies of Schleswig and Holstein occupy the southern half of the peninsula of Jutland, and are inhabited for the most part by a German-speaking people. They were at that time united with Denmark in a personal union, that is, their duke was also king of Denmark; but they lived, in spite of that fact, under their own laws, of the observance of which by the king of Denmark they were exceedingly jealous.¹ Now it had lately become apparent that the Danish royal House would soon die out in the male line. The Danish law provided that, in such an event, the crown should pass to the female line; by the law of the duchies, however, the succession to Schleswig-Holstein would fall to a secondary male branch.

The question of Schleswig and Holstein.

In fear of this separation, the king of Denmark published for Schleswig-Holstein, in the year 1846, a new law of succession by virtue of which the union of Denmark and the duchies was secured for all time. The disaffection aroused thereby throughout the duchies was general, and

The revolt of the duchies, 1848.

¹ The connection between the duchies and Denmark was analogous to that of England and Scotland under James I.

The Parlia-
ment helps.

in 1848 the Schleswig-Holsteiners, encouraged by the general confusion in Europe, and resolute to make themselves independent of a power which according to their view disregarded their rights, boldly cast off the Danish yoke. Since as Germans they appealed to the Parliament at Frankfurt for help, that body, claiming to represent the German name, could not remain deaf to their cries. It ordered Prussia and some other states of the north to march their troops into the duchies, and in the name of Germany drive the Danes out. That feat was soon accomplished, for the Danes are not a powerful nation; but the Danes took revenge by destroying the Prussian shipping of the Baltic. This the king of Prussia stood for a while, but when in the course of the summer it seemed to him that the tide of revolution in Germany was running lower, he took heart, and, without consulting the German Parliament, signed a truce with the Danes which practically delivered the brave Schleswig-Holsteiners over to their Danish masters (August 26, 1848). When the Parliament heard of this act it was furious against the disobedient king. There was talk for a time of civil war; but the talk subsided very quickly, and, on second thoughts, the Parliament endorsed everything which Prussia had done. The long and short of the situation was that Prussia had an army and the Parliament not. But Prussia having by this occurrence discovered the essential impotence of the Parliament, would not the other governments before long discover it too? In fact, the local governments began gradually to pick up courage, and as early as September, 1848, it was plain that the national Parliament at Frankfurt was a beautiful illusion, and that its days were numbered.

Prussia makes
a separate
peace,
August, 1848.

Milan and
Venice rise
against
Austria,
March, 1848.

While the local revolutions, the national Parliament at Frankfurt, and the Schleswig-Holstein war were engaging the attention of Germany, Italy was stirred from Sicily to

the Alps by a similar political movement. At the first news of the revolution at Vienna, Milan and Venice rose against the Austrians, drove out the troops, and declared for independence (March, 1848). The Austrians, although thoroughly surprised, retired in good order under their general, Radetzky, to the impregnable fortifications of the Quadrilateral,¹ and awaited re-enforcements. Milan and Venice set up provisional governments and called upon Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, and the other Italian governments to come to their help against the foreign tyrants. As the revolutionary fever had already seized Tuscany, Rome, and the other states, and the liberal spirit was everywhere triumphant, assistance was freely promised from all sides, and in the spring of 1848 Italian troops, contributed by all the provinces of the peninsula, converged in long lines upon the middle course of the Po. The expected war of all Italy against the foreign oppressor was at length engaged.

All Italy
resolves to
help.

Of the motley Italian army thus hurriedly mobilized to assist the Lombards and Venetians, Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, assumed the command. The fact that he was the head of the House of Savoy, the oldest ruling family of Italy, and that he had expressed his sympathy with the constitutional and national aspirations of his countrymen, pointed him out to all Italians as their natural leader. But his difficulties were great. His troops were undisciplined, the rival governments which sent them distrustful. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that when the veteran and skilful Radetzky ventured forth from his defenses, he should have decided the war at a stroke. On July 25, 1848, the Austrians won the great battle of Custoza, scattered the Italian forces, and straightway re-entered Milan.

The
Austrians
crush the king
of Sardinia
and his
Italian allies,
1848-49.

*Custoza,
July 25,
1848.*

¹ The district enclosed by the four great fortresses of Verona, Mantua, Peschiera, and Legnago.

**and of Europe as well, being
founded in 1027.*

**It was acquisition of the Island of
Sardinia, 1720, that had raised the
Archduke to the rank of king.*

Sardinia
makes peace,
March, 1849.

When, after a six months' armistice, Charles Albert tried his luck once more, he met with no better success. Sick at heart, he abdicated, and was succeeded by his son, the famous Victor Emmanuel II. (March, 1849). When young Victor Emmanuel professed his willingness to sign a peace, Austria, harassed sufficiently in other quarters, made no objections. By the terms of the peace agreement the defeated monarch of Sardinia-Piedmont paid a money-fine to Austria, but did not lose a foot of territory.

Lombardy
and Venice
reconquered.

Before that document was signed, Austria had already re-established her hold on Lombardy, and now, after a brave resistance on the part of the people, she put her yoke on Venice as well. Thus, only a little over a year after the hopeful rising of March, 1848, the Austrian soldiers had again laid the Italian north at their feet, and had again proved their ancient valor and the strength of their emperor. But to the Italians also the war had brought a benefit. Through stinging disaster they had learned the lesson that they must stand shoulder to shoulder if their righteous cause was ever to triumph; and they had become persuaded by a comradeship of arms, no less sacred because disastrous, that the House of Savoy was their natural point of union.

The revolution
general in
Italy.

Even before the Austrians had regained their two provinces of Lombardy and Venice, the revolutions in the central and southern part of the peninsula had come to an end, and the old reactionary spirit had again triumphed. In March, 1848, nobody would have predicted that result; the rulers of Tuscany, Modena, the States of the Church, and Naples had all been forced to sanction the revolution on pain of being driven from the country. Of course, such a sanction extracted from a reactionary despot was involuntary and, though confirmed by an oath, likely to be withdrawn at the first opportunity which offered.

In Naples the reactionary opportunity offered itself very soon to the monarch, chafing under constitutional restraints. As early as May, 1848, only three months after the victory of the revolution, the royal troops broke the resistance of the people, and re-established the absolute throne. Thereupon southern, like northern, Italy relapsed again into quiet and reaction. But far and away the most interesting happenings on the Italian stage, next to those in Lombardy, occurred in central Italy, at Rome.

The liberals
conquered in
Naples.

Rome.

In the year 1848, Pius IX., a very earnest and affable man who had won the favor of his subjects by a number of generous measures, was sovereign Pontiff and lord of the States of the Church. He sympathized with the liberal party, and on the first stirrings of the revolution granted his people a constitution. But when it came to joining in the national war with the rest of Italy against Austria, he called a halt. A universal Pope, he argued, leading Catholics to be slaughtered by other Catholics was a ludicrous and impossible figure. On the other hand, the Romans generally maintained, and with as much show of reason, that an Italian prince who contributed nothing to the overthrow of the tyrants of Italy was no better than a traitor. Now it was that the Pope began to experience the calamity of his double position as a spiritual and a temporal ruler. In his dilemma he did nothing; but the Romans, who wished passionately to help their Lombard brethren against Austria, grew so dangerously restless that Pius IX. finally fled from the city, and took refuge in Gaeta, on Neapolitan soil (November 24, 1848). Thereupon Rome fell completely into the hands of the revolutionists under the leadership of the famous agitator *Mazzini*, and at Mazzini's instigation, the Pope was declared to have forfeited his temporal dignities, and the papal dominions were proclaimed a republic.

The Pope,
Pius IX., be-
tween two
fires.

The Pope
flees, Novem-
ber, 1848

Mazzini.

The Roman
Republic.

Garibaldi.

Mazzini's new Roman Republic never had more than a fighting chance to live. Catholic peoples the world over were horrified at its high-handed treatment of the Holy Father, and made ready to interfere. Louis Napoleon, president of the French Republic, was especially delighted at the opportunity offered by the Roman events to curry favor with the Catholic clergy and peasantry of France. He now sent an army to Rome to sweep Mazzini and his republicans out of the city. General Garibaldi, who had been made commander-in-chief, put up a gallant fight, but in the end had to give way to numbers. In July, 1849, the French entered the conquered city, and the old papal regimen was re-established. A few months later the hated Pope returned to the Vatican. There was now no further talk of reform; Pius IX.'s early liberalism had died from terror during his exile at Gaeta. Thus, after a year of wild excitement, Italy again enjoyed peace under her petty and despised princes; but it was a sullen peace, for it was imposed by foreign bayonets.

Austria—the
German, Slav,
Hungarian,
and Italian re-
volts.

While these things were happening in Italy, the reaction had again definitely set in in Germany and in Austria. In the spring of 1848 Austria seemed to have gone to wrack and ruin. This empire of many races was held together by only a few customary ties, and under the pressure of the March events they snapped like thin threads. Hardly had the Germans, as has been described,* revolted at Vienna, when all the other Austrian peoples followed suit. In a few weeks there were separate revolutions among the Slavs (Czechs) at Prague, among the Hungarians* at Budapest, and among the Italians at Milan and Venice; Austria seemed destined to fall into four independent states corresponding to the four leading races of which she was made up. If that dissolution did not actually occur in 1848, it is due solely to one institution—the Austrian army. Dur-

* p. 359.

*(magyars)

ing all the disturbances the army held loyally together under its natural head, the emperor, and gradually restored quiet.

In June, Windischgraetz, the general commanding in Bohemia, was ordered to proceed against the riotous Slavs of Prague. He put them down without much trouble, and then marched south against the Germans at Vienna. There the actions of the students and other revolutionists had lately grown so extravagant that the emperor had taken refuge in the country. In October, Windischgraetz, after a bloody street-fight, forced an entrance into the capital. The revolutionists were shot upon the barricades or else cruelly executed. Thus the Slavs and the Germans having been reduced to order, there remained only the struggle with the Italians and the Hungarians. But as Radetzky was rapidly beating the former into submission (battle of Custoza, July 25), almost the whole force of Austria was now free to be concentrated upon Budapest.

The Slavs, Germans, and Italians reconquered.

The Hungarians desire home rule.

Although the Hungarians had bowed for centuries to the yoke of the Hapsburgs, they had never lost their proud, independent spirit. Under their leader, Louis Kossuth, they had now, in the summer of 1848, made themselves as good as independent. They did not object to a ruler of the House of Hapsburg, but they wished to be free of the connection with the other parts of the many-tongued empire. As the programme of the emperor and his ministry was, in sharp contrast to the Hungarian idea, the maintenance of the indivisible Hapsburg realm, Windischgraetz, in order to realize it, moved in the winter into Hungary at the head of 100,000 troops.

Kossuth.

Russia and Austria check the Hungarian rebellion, August, 1849.

The Hungarians fought splendidly for their freedom, and at first actually drove the Austrians back; but Kossuth, overelated at his success, made the mistake of proclaiming Hungary a republic (April, 1849), and immediately Czar Nicholas, in alarm at the progress of the democratic spirit

at his very border, offered to help out his brother of Austria with a flank attack. In the summer the Austrians from the west and the Russians from the east caught the Hungarians between them, and quickly made an end of their resistance (August, 1849). Hungary, broken in spirit and resources, stolidly reassumed the Austrian yoke.

Austria again
on her legs.

As for Austria, she had, after a year of terrible commotions, successively subdued the revolution among her Slav, her German, her Italian, and her Hungarian subjects, and was now again a great power under the absolute government of her young emperor, Francis Joseph, who had only just succeeded his uncle, Ferdinand, on the throne (December, 1848).

The reaction
spreads to
Germany.

The victory of the reaction in Austria was sure to affect greatly the affairs of Prussia and Germany. In fact, hardly had the king of Prussia heard of the victory of Windischgraetz over the people of Vienna, when he resolved to proceed against the revolutionists in his own capital. He therefore ordered the troops to take possession of Berlin, and dissolved the Prussian Diet, which was engaged in making a constitution for Prussia. There was little resistance, for the people were greatly attached to their House of Hohenzollern. Probably for this reason King Frederick William IV. was loath to disappoint their liberal expectations altogether. Of his own free will he presented the people, in February, 1849, with a constitution, and although it was not as democratic as could have been wished, it at least secured to the Prussian people a share in the government. Revolution was thus put down in Prussia as elsewhere, but here, almost alone, the king had been wise enough to accept the more moderate popular demands.

Prussia gets
a constitution,
1849.

* We left the German Parliament at Frankfurt at the time of its first great discomfiture, in the matter of the Schleswig-Holstein war (September, 1848). That difficulty had

* f. 362.

proved that the Parliament could not exact obedience from a great state like Prussia. But if that was the case before the triumph of the governments at Vienna and Berlin over the revolutionists, how would matters stand after these governments had recovered their strength? In fact, Austria and Prussia paid less and less attention to the Parliament which, having been elected by the people of all the states, still claimed to be the sovereign body in Germany.

The German Parliament endangered by the reaction.

Although the members of the Parliament were themselves bitterly conscious that their power was waning, they kept bravely to the task for which they had been called together. In the course of the winter (1848-49) they completed their constitution for united Germany; there now remained only the difficult matter of finding a head for the new constitution—an emperor. And on this rock the whole labors of the Parliament were shattered to pieces. Naturally the choice lay between the two greatest German princes, the emperor of Austria and the king of Prussia. The question of their respective merits was hotly debated, but the fact that Prussia was more of a German state than disjointed Austria, finally won a majority for Frederick William IV. Emperor Francis Joseph was furious; being a Hapsburg, he looked upon the Hohenzollern as mere upstarts, and swore to declare war rather than recognize a German emperor of that line. Under these conditions all Germany fixed its eyes with anxious interest upon the deputation from the German Parliament, which in April, 1849, travelled to Berlin to offer to the Prussian king the crown of united Germany.

The crown offered to Frederick William IV. of Prussia.

Frederick William IV. was, unlike most of his family, a timid man. He had a deep respect for the Hapsburgs, as the traditional rulers of Germany, and a great dread of their military power. But he was also moved by a keen German patriotism, and believed that the long humiliation

Frederick William declines being emperor.

of Germany ought to be put an end to by the creation of a strong central government. Unfortunately, the proffered imperial *crown* gave no guarantee of imperial *power*. Suppose the other states refused to recognize the new emperor? If so, Frederick William would have to defeat each one of them in war, before his new crown was safe. This consideration determined the issue with the king; he might possibly have fought Austria and her German supporters for a substantial and a sure benefit; he would not fight them for the shadow of a crown. Thus it came about that when the delegates waited on Frederick William at his castle in Berlin their offer was politely rejected.

The *Bund*
again.

The refusal naturally annihilated the Parliament. There were a few final convulsions of the revolutionary monster here and there, and then there was quiet. Fate seemed to have decided that there should be no united Germany. Taking advantage of the feeling of resignation which seized upon the land, Austria now proposed to the governments to reinstate the old ludicrous *Bund*, which the events of 1848 had swept out of existence. The *Bund*, with its Diet, in which the various government delegates met, talked, and decided nothing, seemed the best thing Germany was capable of. Slowly the secondary states assented to the Austrian proposal; Prussia alone, from shame at the despicable farce, delayed her acceptance. But what was there to do? Prussia having refused the imperial crown, the *Bund* was the natural alternative. In November, 1850, Prussia signed at Olmütz a convention with Austria, in which she bowed to every demand which that state made concerning the settlement of Germany.

Schleswig and
Holstein
crushed.

In this general collapse of German hopes and illusions the Schleswig-Holsteiners, who had built their revolution on the prospect of a united Germany, could not escape disaster. Abandoned by Prussia in August, 1848, they

continued to fight manfully against the Danes for their freedom. Finally, Russia and England were moved to interfere. They called a conference of the powers at London (1850), which determined that the unruly duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were to be inseparably connected with the Danish crown. Outwardly the duchies now bowed to the inevitable, but an inner acceptance of the unjust decree no amount of pressure could wring out of them. It was evident that they would rise again at a more auspicious moment.

With the German Parliament dissolved, the Schleswig-Holsteiners delivered over to the Danes, the *Bund* reconstituted at Frankfurt, it seemed, in the year 1851, that the Metternichian era had come again. The patriots were filled with despair. But as far as they were thoughtful men, they must have made this observation: the movement of 1848 had failed because it was a merely popular action, which took no account of the established authorities. The established authorities had, therefore, been its enemy, and had ruined it. If, in the future, the governments themselves would take up the national movement, and direct it into sensible channels, would there not then be more chance of success?

Another reign
of reaction.

The story of Germany's unification is told in ch. VII., pp. 380-91.

(France cont'd. from p. 358.)

CHAPTER VI

FRANCE UNDER NAPOLEON III.—THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

The Napoleonic propaganda.

THE election of Prince Louis Napoleon to the presidency of the French Republic (December, 1848) had greatly discouraged the Republican party. And the new president immediately justified the suspicions entertained against him. One of his first acts was to put down, with French troops, the Roman Republic of Mazzini and Garibaldi (June, 1849). Republics evidently were not his hobby. Next he tried in every way to increase, at the expense of his office, his personal popularity. In frequent journeys through the provinces reference was made to "my great uncle," and "to the glories of the First Empire." The Legislative Assembly, the majority of which was composed of anti-Republicans, was neither willing nor able to stop this revolutionary agitation.

The coup d'état of December, 1851.

Finally, in 1851, everything was ready for a great stroke. The president had demanded that the provision of the constitution, by which, at the expiration of his four years' term of office, he could not stand for re-election, be revised. When the Republican minority in the Legislature hindered the passage of the proposed measure, Napoleon saw that if he would continue in power, he must overthrow the constitution. Accordingly, December 2, 1851, was appointed for a *coup d'état*. The leading Republicans were arrested and the Legislature dissolved; at the same time a public proclamation announced that the president would give the

* i. e., 1848—70;

as King, 1852—70.

Myers (Med. Mod. N.), Pt. II., 4th Period, ch. IX

Reference to this ed.:
Tugge, Andrews, Miller

country a better constitution. There were only a few protests, and on December 20 the country at large, invited to vote on the change, accepted its shame by a large majority.* Exactly a year later (December 2, 1852), Napoleon dropped the last vestige of Republicanism, and assumed the title of Emperor Napoleon III.¹ A new constitution assured a share in the government to a senate and a legislative body, but the share was merely nominal.

Napoleon, emperor.

A Napoleonic empire could only be maintained by military successes which flattered the vanity of the French people. So at least Napoleon argued, and directed in consequence all the efforts of his reign toward attempts at harvesting what his subjects called "gloire." These attempts won him at first an enviable position; they ended by plunging him and his country into defeat and misery.

Napoleon's policy of adventure.

The first opening for Napoleon's policy of adventure was offered in the east. Czar Nicholas had lately made the somewhat obvious discovery that the Sultan was "a sick man." Being convinced that he, Nicholas, was the Sultan's natural heir, he held it to be a piece of unnecessary politeness to wait for the "sick man's" death before he took possession of the heritage. He suddenly demanded of the Sultan to be recognized as the protector of all the Greek Christians resident in Turkey. When the Sultan refused, Nicholas invaded Moldavia (July, 1853). Europe being filled with indignation at this high-handed measure,* Napoleon had no difficulty in persuading England to unite with him in a protest. When Russia gave no heed to the joint remonstrance, the two western powers made an alliance with Turkey, and declared war (March, 1854).

The Crimean War, 1854.

The Russian campaign of 1854 was a complete failure. The Russian forces tried to take the Danubian fortresses,

The siege of Sebastopol.

¹ The son of the great Napoleon is reckoned as Napoleon II. He died in 1832.

* 7,437,216 *vz.* 640,737.

#i. e., lest the balance of power should be disturbed, & Russia aggrandized.

but on being repulsed by the Turks, withdrew in June from the invaded territory. Consequently, when the English and French forces arrived in Turkey, there was no enemy to be seen; the war had come to an end. But as so inglorious a conclusion was not to Napoleon's taste, he ordered his generals not to return without some kind of victory. It was therefore agreed between the French and English to attack the great Russian stronghold in the Crimea, Sebastopol. But unfortunately for the western powers the capture proved no easy matter. Sebastopol, admirably defended by the Russians, was taken only after a siege which lasted a whole year, and is one of the most memorable events of the kind in history. But the final surrender of Sebastopol in September, 1855, thoroughly discouraged the Russians. As the war-like Nicholas had died in March of the same year, and been succeeded by his son, the gentle Alexander II. (1855-81), there was now no further obstacle to peace. At a Congress held at Paris, Russia in exchange for Sebastopol gave up her pretensions to Turkey, and all the powers together assumed the duty previously claimed by Russia alone of protecting the Christian subjects resident in Turkish territory (March, 1856).

The Peace of
Paris, 1856.

Napoleon
turns to new
enterprises.

The Peace of Paris, dictated by Napoleon in his own capital, won for the Empire the place of first power in Europe. But Napoleon was not satisfied. It is the nature of war to incite new wars, and ambition once aroused is not easily checked. Attracted by the prospect of a military glory still greater than that won in Crimea, Napoleon now began to turn his attention to Italy.

Policy of
Victor
Emmanuel
and Cavour.

A welcome excuse for interesting himself in the affairs of the transalpine peninsula was furnished Napoleon by the fact that Sardinia-Piedmont, the largest native state of Italy, had voluntarily sought his friendship and alliance. Since the War of 1848, King Victor Emmanuel was firmly

held by all Italians to be the future unifier of Italy. Victor Emmanuel himself held this view. The practical question before the recognized champion of Italy was: what measures would speed the liberation of his country? Luckily Victor Emmanuel found a gifted adviser in Count Cavour, *Cavour.* and under Cavour's guidance, Sardinia entered, about the middle of the century, upon a policy which led finally to the complete gratification of the national desires.

Cavour argued simply that the leading obstacle to Italian unity was Austria—Austria, which held Lombardy and Venice, and dictated her policy to all the little tyrannical princes of the peninsula. Alone Sardinia could not defeat the Danubian Empire; the year 1848 had proved that. It was therefore necessary to find an ally for the inevitable future war. So much being determined in principle, what power was it more natural to appeal to than Napoleon, always on the lookout for some opportunity to raise his prestige among the nations of Europe? Cautiously Cavour sought the friendship of Napoleon, and unfolded before his eyes the rôle that awaited him in Italy. Napoleon, fascinated by the prospect, could not resist the tempting opportunity; in the year 1858 he and Victor Emmanuel formed a close alliance. When Austria, guessing the purport of the alliance, ordered Sardinia to disarm, and on her prompt refusal occupied her territory, the war which Cavour so ardently desired broke out (spring, 1859).

Alliance of
Sardinia and
France against
Austria.

The real campaign did not begin till June, 1859, and then was over in a few weeks. By the two great victories of Magenta and Solferino, the French and the Sardinians drove the Austrians back from the Lombard plain into the strongholds of the Quadrilateral.* Italy was ablaze with bonfires; Napoleon evoked, wherever he appeared, a boundless enthusiasm. But just as everybody was expecting that he would now finish the good work by driving the Aus-

The Italian
war of 1859. }

Magenta
Solferino
Known as
the Austro-
Sardinian War

*see p. 363.

Sardinia ac-
quires Lom-
bardy.

trians completely across the Alps, he suddenly turned round, and, without consulting the Sardinians, signed a truce with the enemy. Victor Emmanuel was furious, but could do nothing. In the peace which followed he got Lombardy as his share in the victory, but had to leave Venetia in the hands of the Austrians. Napoleon in return for his services obtained from Sardinia the cession of Nice and Savoy.

Why Napo-
leon aban-
doned the war.

A large number of causes had conspired to determine Napoleon to abandon the war. He had won his measure of glory; why endanger what he had won in new encounters? That was one consideration; another, no less important, was the unexpected development in the heart of Italy. The great national war with Austria having aroused all the small states of the north to a frenzy of patriotism, Tuscany, Modena, and even the northern provinces of the Papal States overthrew their governments, and announced their resolution to be annexed to Sardinia-Piedmont. What could Victor Emmanuel do but accept the offer with thanks? Thus Sardinia-Piedmont acquired at a stroke the whole north of Italy.* But this was more than had been bargained for in the original alliance between France and Sardinia; Napoleon, who had entered the war only to weaken Austria, suddenly saw looming before his eyes the probability of a strong and dangerous rival on his south-eastern frontier. A too powerful Italy was just as little desirable as a too powerful Austria. He therefore resolved to desist from further strengthening Sardinia, and leaving Austria in possession of Venetia, and taking Nice and Savoy for himself, he departed hurriedly for Paris.

But the first step in the unification of Italy had been taken, and the process once begun was not likely to be interrupted. In fact, Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, with the whole north in their hands, now considered themselves

**except Venetia*

strong enough to do something on their own account. They permitted General Garibaldi, the bold leader of volunteers, to fit out a small expedition for the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. In May, 1860, Garibaldi proceeded by sea, with an escort of only 1,000 men, to Sicily. The expedition, one of the most hazardous in history, reads like a mediæval book of chivalry. Sicily was conquered at a rush; Garibaldi, the liberator, had only to appear, and the tyrannical government of the Bourbon king of Naples, whom everybody hated, fell to pieces. In the summer, Garibaldi crossed to the mainland. Here too, as in Sicily, he met with a fervid reception; finally, in September, he entered the city of Naples, and the Bourbon king, Francis II., having fled in terror from his capital, was declared deposed and his country annexed to Sardinia.

Garibaldi conquers Naples, 1860.

Meanwhile the patriotic agitation had seized the neighboring Papal States. All the papal provinces, except the territory immediately about Rome which was held by French troops, followed the example of the kingdom of Naples, and declared for Victor Emmanuel and Sardinia. Thus in the autumn of 1860 the king found himself master of the south as well as of the north. Conservative Europe was alarmed at this astounding development of Italy, but dared not interfere.

The States of the Church, except Rome, declare for Sardinia.

Italy was now complete but for Venetia in the north-east, held by Austria, and Rome, in the centre, held by the Pope with the assistance of the French. For Garibaldi to attack either of these two provinces meant a declaration of war against a great power, and Victor Emmanuel and Cavour wisely decided that they were not yet ready for such an undertaking. They therefore resolved to consolidate first what they had got, and bide their time. Accordingly, in February, 1861, there met at Turin, the capital of Piedmont, the first general Italian Parliament.

Victor Emmanuel becomes king of Italy, 1861.

It was a proud moment for Italy when the king in his opening speech recounted the auspicious events of the past years, and then, in obedience to the wishes of the Parliament, assumed the style of king of Italy.

The king adopts a waiting policy.

Of course the hot-blooded Garibaldi, backed by a considerable party of patriots, urged the government to take Rome and Venice by an immediate war. But the king and his minister Cavour would not hear of this advice, and even after the king's great counsellor had died (June, 1861), Victor Emmanuel clung to a waiting policy. And in the end it bore its fruits.

The war of 1866.

In the year 1866 there broke out the long-threatening war between the two German powers, Austria and Prussia. That was a legitimate opportunity for Italy. Italy and Prussia straightway formed a close alliance, and together proceeded to attack Austria from the north and south. Although the Italian part of the joint campaign was very unfortunate, the Italian army being defeated at Custoza (June); and the Italian fleet even more signally off Lissa, in the Adriatic (July), the great Prussian victory of Sadowa made good these Italian calamities, and forced Austria to sign a peace at the dictation of the allies. Venetia, the last Austrian foothold south of the Alps, accordingly became a part of Italy, and in November, 1866, Victor Emmanuel made his triumphal entry into the City of the Lagoons.

Italy acquires Venice.

Italy acquires Rome, 1870.

Rome alone now remained to be won. And if the Romans had been left free to choose, there is no doubt what course they would have pursued. But Napoleon's troops held the city for the Pope, and neither the Romans nor Victor Emmanuel dared encourage a revolution in the papal capital out of fear of provoking a French war. At length patience, here as in the case of Venice, brought the due reward. On the outbreak, in 1870, of the great Franco-

German War, Napoleon saw himself reduced to the necessity of recalling his Roman troops in order to put them into the field against Germany. Immediately Victor Emmanuel, disembarassed of the French, marched his army to the gates of Rome, and seized the city (September, 1870). The Pope protested clamorously, but in spite of his uncompromising attitude was not disturbed by the victorious Italians in his quarter of the Vatican. There he has since resided, but the glorious City of the Seven Hills, definitely lost to him, became, as the great majority of the nation ardently desired, the capital of the reborn Italian state. (For later history see Adam. H. 329 sq)

Outline of French Hist

- I. Roman conquest of Gallic tribes
- II. German occupation (Franks)
- III. Feudalism
- IV. Rise of Capetian Kings.
- V. Kingship checked by 100 yrs war.
- VI. Absolute monarchy.
- VII. Foreign conflicts (Spain, Italy, Austria)
- VIII. French Revolution (England)
- IX. Empire of Napoleon
- X. Growth of 1st French Republic.

(Germany cont'd. from p. 371)
CHAPTER VII

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY*

The lesson of
the year 1848.

THE year 1848 seemed on a superficial view to have passed over Germany without any results. A careful investigation, however, would reveal that that was not quite the case. It was a real gain, for instance, that Prussia, by adopting a constitution (1849)*, had completed the victory of constitutionalism in Germany, and it was a cause for congratulation that the national spirit had, at least for a moment, commanded all hearts. Henceforth, patriotic aspirations could in no event be entirely smothered. But it was also undeniable that the national aspirations would have to be realized by more practical measures than the paper resolutions of the popular Parliament at Frankfurt; they would have to be realized by an organized force. So at least argued William of Prussia, who in the year 1858 succeeded¹ his brother, Frederick William IV.

William I.

William
builds his
plans on a
strong army.

William was a practical, soldierly gentleman, quite the opposite of his romantic, ineffective brother. He had hardly arrived at power when he resolved to create a strong army. Let there be a strong army, and Prussia would be ready for emergencies, as she had not been when Austria had forced her, in 1850, to give up her plans for the unity of Germany.*

But in his attempt to fashion a strong army, the sovereign stumbled upon an obstacle. The liberal majority in

¹ William was at first only regent for his brother; he became king in 1861.

the Prussian Diet objected to the army expenditures, and refused to authorize them. Therefore there now ensued a sharp conflict between the king and the legislature. But the king was a soldier without fear; the reform which he knew to be good he was determined to carry out in spite of his Diet, and, therefore, in the year 1862, he called to his support as prime-minister a resolute adherent of royalty, Otto von Bismarck.*

Trouble
between
king and
legislature.

Bismarck was a Prussian squire who, holding by nature and training extremely conservative views, had in a varied diplomatic career acquired gradually a true statesman's vision. His political programme in its final form was: To support the king's plan of a strong army; to put Austria out of Germany; and, finally, to gather the other German states around Prussia as their head, and thus unify the nation.

Bismarck,

and
his

Polit-
ical

Pro-

gramme.

This programme was, of course, concealed in Bismarck's breast, for it would never do publicly to affront Austria. The only part of the programme which was made known—the strong army—aroused a more and more violent opposition, and Bismarck's name soon became a word with which Prussian mothers frightened their children. Thus things were going from bad to worse, and everybody was expecting an early revolution in Prussia, when there occurred a number of events which, luckily for the prime-minister, drew the attention of the people away from internal affairs, and furnished him with an opportunity to proceed to the realization of his national ideas.

Circum-
stances aid
Bismarck.

In the year 1863 occurred the long-expected death of Frederick VII., king of Denmark. He was succeeded, with the acquiescence of all the European powers, by his relative, Christian IX. Christian IX. was at first recognized in Schleswig-Holstein also, but when he ventured to publish a constitution by which he incorporated the northernmost

The second
revolution of
Schleswig-
Holstein,
1863.

*Bismarck: The Man & the Statesman.

Being the Reflections & Reminiscences of Otto, Prince
von Bismarck, written & dictated by himself after his
Retirement from office. [Transl'd.] Harper & Bros., 2 vols., \$7.50
Also 2 articles in the North Am. Rev. Sept. 2, 1878

The
Schleswig-
Holstein
war, 1864.

duchy, Schleswig, directly with Denmark, he was straight-way repudiated by the whole German population of the two provinces. Of course all Germany was greatly agitated in behalf of its Schleswig-Holstein brothers, and, as in 1848, threatened a national war against Denmark. Taking advantage of the situation Bismarck now persuaded Austria to associate herself with Prussia, in order that the Danish difficulties might be settled in an orderly way. Accordingly, in January, 1864, Prussian and Austrian troops entered the duchies side by side. In a quick campaign Denmark was disarmed, and in October she saw herself reduced to the necessity of ceding Schleswig and Holstein to the victors.

Bismarck
quarrels with
Austria over
the division of
Schleswig-
Holstein.

Now that Prussia and Austria possessed the duchies, the question was how to divide the spoils. Of course the division turned out, to Bismarck's great delight, a difficult matter. Austria not being willing to give up her position in Germany, the Prussian prime-minister had long been planning to make her give it up by force, and here was the Schleswig-Holstein booty, the very matter over which to pick a plausible quarrel. A long wrangle, carefully nursed by Bismarck, was accompanied with steady preparations for war. Finally, in the spring of 1866, Prussia signed a close alliance with Italy, while Austria, for her part, strove to get the support of the smaller German states. And owing to the fact that Bismarck's policy of aggrandizement had aroused in Germany a general fear of upstart Prussia, almost all the southern and central states now actually placed themselves under the wings of the older and more conservative German power.

Meaning of
the war of
1866.

These dispositions made—Prussia having secured the support of Italy, and Austria the alliance of Bavaria, Saxony, and most of the other German states—in June, 1866, the two apparently well-matched combatants took the

field. The contest was the culmination of the rivalry, inaugurated over a hundred years ago, at the time of Frederick the Great and Maria Theresa; the prize of the winner was to be the supremacy in Germany.

A part of the Prussian army had to be detached against the South German states; to counterbalance this loss, a part of the Austrian army had to be left in Venetia to operate against the Italians. Weakened only by these minor subtractions from their force, the Austrians and Prussians, massed in two great armies, made ready to meet each other in Bohemia. This meeting, it was evident, would decide the war.

Now it was seen that King William's plan of a strong and modern army had its merits. The Prussians were ready sooner than the Austrians, and showed themselves to be much better armed and disciplined. By the admirable arrangements of the great strategist, Moltke, three Prussian columns were made to converge upon the Austrians, and enclosing them at Sadowa, in Bohemia, on July 3, as in a vise, crushed them utterly. The war had hardly begun when it was over. It was of little consequence that the Austrians in Italy defeated the Italians at Custoza or that the Prussians defeated the South Germans. Austria proper lay at the feet of Prussia, and had to make peace. A truce in July was followed in August, 1866, by the definitive Peace of Prague.

By the Peace of Prague Austria accepted her exclusion from Germany, and agreed to any reconstruction of Germany which Prussia should carry out. Territorially she was not heavily punished: she had to cede Venetia to Italy, and her share in Schleswig-Holstein to Prussia. These arrangements made, Bismarck proceeded to make peace with the German allies of Austria. Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and the South German states in general were let

Disposition of the forces.

Sadowa, July 3, 1866.

Peace of Prague, Aug., 1866.

Prussia makes peace with Austria and the South German states.

off with a money fine, but most of the hostile North German states, as for example, ^{and Hesse-Cassel,} Hanover, and Nassau, were incorporated with Prussia.

Bismarck forms the North German Confederation.

Then Bismarck proceeded to replace the old *Bund* by an effective central government. He formed among the states north of the river Main, the North German Confederation, with Prussia at its head. With wise moderation, he made no effort to force the South German states into the new union; they were, for the most part, Catholic and opposed to Protestant Prussia; then they had just been defeated in a bitter civil war. Let time moderate their rancor, and they would feel irresistibly the attraction of the new national state. So Bismarck argued, and the event proved that he was right. From 1866 to 1870, Germany, therefore, consisted of two distinct parts—a strong united north under the leadership of Prussia, and a feeble south of the four detached states, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden, and Hesse. Then there happened something which spontaneously brought the two parts together, and completed the unification of Germany: France declared war and threatened Germany with invasion.

The decline of Napoleon III.

We met the Emperor Napoleon last in the Italian campaign of 1859. That campaign marks the zenith of his life. From 1859 on he entered upon a steady decline. Meddling and ambitious, he still continued to interfere in the affairs of all the world, but he no longer prospered. His occupation of Rome lost him his popularity among the Italians. Then in an evil hour he turned his desires upon the New World. He was led to interfere in the internal affairs of Mexico, and finding that that republic made but a feeble resistance, he overturned it, and set up an empire under the archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria. It is difficult to see what advantage lay in all this for France or even for Napoleon himself; perhaps he

The Mexican muddle.

took it to be enough that the expedition kept his name before the world. The Emperor Maximilian landed in Mexico in 1864. It was the time of the great American Civil War, and the United States, thoroughly embarrassed within, was little inclined at first to interfere with Napoleon's project. But the Monroe Doctrine, dearly cherished by all Americans, had been flagrantly set aside by the French invasion, and as soon as the Civil War was over, Secretary Seward gave Napoleon to understand that he must withdraw immediately. Napoleon shuffled a while, but did not have the courage to refuse in the end. The French sailed for Europe, and Maximilian, deserted by his allies, was captured and shot (1867). Thereupon the Mexicans re-established their republic.

The shame of this disgraceful ending was not the worst feature about the Mexican adventure. Owing to the absence of the best French troops in the New World, the Emperor Napoleon could exercise no influence on the issue of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Thus it happened that Prussia came out of the war with a greatly increased territory, but France won from the embarrassment of the German powers nothing whatever. Now the French having for centuries entertained the hope of extending their territory to the Rhine, were angry with Napoleon for having missed the opportunity offered by the Austro-Prussian War to gain that end. More and more passionately public opinion began to clamor for some territorial increase to offset the growth of Prussia. Consequently the relations between France and Prussia became gradually worse. A little incident sufficed to precipitate war.

France grows
jealous of
Prussia.

The Spanish throne happening in the year 1870 to be vacant, the Cortes—that is, the Spanish Parliament—offered the throne to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern. As this

The Spanish
incident of
1870.

prince was a relative of King William of Prussia, the candidature caused great excitement at Paris. Largely on this account, Leopold withdrew ; but Napoleon, not satisfied with the withdrawal pure and simple, wanted a promise from King William that he would never permit Leopold to be a candidate in the future. This demand King William curtly rejected. Thereupon Napoleon, with the full consent of his legislature, declared war (July 19, 1870).

South Ger-
many on the
side of Prussia.

The advantages in the struggle which now ensued were, from the beginning, on the side of Prussia ; first, in the matter of allies. Napoleon had hoped that the South German states would, out of hatred of Prussia, side with him. But in Germany's hour of need, they thought only of their national duty, and freely put their forces under the command of the Prussian king. Not Prussia merely, but for the first time in centuries a united Germany marched to meet the German foe.

The Germans
better pre-
pared.

A further advantage to Prussia and her German allies was that they were ready sooner than the enemy, and when ready, mustered a greater army. The Germans, directed by the skilful Moltke, were, in consequence, enabled not only to carry the war into French territory, but also to attack the French with a superior force.

The German
victories.

The German forces assembled on the frontier in three divisions, and in the beginning of August invaded France. On August 6 the Crown Prince Frederick of Prussia came up with the army of Marshal MacMahon at Wörth, and defeated it so roundly that it had to abandon Alsace. The second French army, stationed in Lorraine, thereupon fell back on the great fortress Metz. But as the army was in danger of being surrounded there, Bazaine, its commander, resolved, in the middle of August, to retreat in the direction of Paris. This rearward movement Moltke

Wörth,
Aug. 6.

was determined at any cost to hinder. In a series of bloody battles, culminating, on August 18, in the murderous encounter of Gravelotte, the French were defeated, tumbled back into Metz, and there blockaded. One-half of the German forces was now detailed for the investment of Metz, while the other half pushed westward to find MacMahon, who, having recovered from his defeat at Wörth, was coming on to help Bazaine.

*Gravelotte
Aug. 18.*

~~The surrender
of Sedan, Sep-
tember 2, 1870.~~

At Sedan, on September 1, MacMahon's forces once more met the Germans, and on the next day, seeing that resistance was hopeless, the whole French force surrendered. Then only it became known to the Germans that Napoleon himself was with his army; he was sent to Germany as a prisoner, and the second French Empire came to an end.

*Surrender
of Sedan
Sept. 2, 1870*

Thus far the campaign had been admirably managed on the part of Moltke. The war had hardly lasted a month, and one French army was locked up in Metz, while the second and remaining army, with the emperor at its head, had even been captured. All that seemed to remain was to march to Paris and dictate terms of peace. Accordingly, a German army of 200,000 men marched westward, and toward the end of September undertook the investment of the French capital.

*The invest-
ments of Metz
and Paris.*

Meanwhile, important things had happened in the capital of France. The calamity of Sedan was hardly known when the whole city of Paris rose in indignation against the luckless imperial government. The Empress Eugénie was driven from her palace, and France declared a Republic (September 4).¹ At the same time, a number of men, the most prominent of whom was Gambetta, set up for the

*The Third
Republic,
Sept. 4,
1870.*

¹ The Republic of September 4 is known generally as the Third Republic. The First Republic was proclaimed in 1792 and destroyed by Napoleon; the Second Republic belongs to the period 1848-51; and the Third Republic of 1870, the most long-lived of all, exists to this day (1898).

purpose of effectively prosecuting the war, the Government of the National Defense.

Capitulation of Paris, followed by peace.

The siege of Paris marks the last stage of the war. If the Germans entertained the hope of settling things in a few weeks, they were greatly mistaken. Gambetta made a most active and honorable resistance, but his raw levies were no match, in the long run, for the disciplined soldiers of Germany. On January 28, 1871, Paris, disheartened by the surrender of Metz (October), and reduced to the last extremes of misery and hunger, capitulated, and the war was over. France had to buy peace from her enemies by paying a war indemnity of one billion dollars, and by ceding to them the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. In March the Germans began the evacuation of the French territory.

Paris
surrenders,
Jan. 28, '71.

King William becomes German Emperor, January 18, 1871.

But it was not the old divided fatherland to which the German soldiers returned. The great victories, won by the united efforts of north and south, filled all hearts with enthusiasm. The feeling imperatively possessing all that it would be criminal to return from the triumphs of Sedan and Paris without a pledge of lasting unity, the princes of the smaller states requested King William of Prussia to assume the title of German Emperor. On January 18, 1871, the new dignity was proclaimed to the world from the *Salle des Glaces* of Louis the Fourteenth's palace of Versailles.

The constitution of the new empire.

About the same time there was completed and published a constitution for the new German Empire. This constitution is merely the constitution of the North German Confederation, so enlarged as to embrace the South Germans. By virtue of the new instrument Germany was organized as a federal government like the United States of America. The constitution recognizes twenty-five states of various size. The governments of these twenty-five send delegates

to an upper house, called the Bundesrath, while the people elect, on the basis of direct and universal suffrage, the members of a second house, called the Reichstag. Bundesrath and Reichstag together make the laws; the king of Prussia, in his capacity of German Emperor and head of the confederation, executes them. Bismarck, the great builder of the German state-structure, became the first Chancellor of the Empire.

In March the emperor met his first Reichstag. Emperor and people faced each other on that occasion with tears of thanksgiving in their eyes, both equally happy over the issue of the great war which had finally restored to the German people the unity and strength lost far back in the Middle Age.

Germany
again a great
power.

France, in the months immediately following the German evacuation, went through a terrible crisis. The Republic being at that time not yet fairly on its feet, and being, moreover, discredited with many Frenchmen, because of the peace it had signed with Germany, the lawless elements of Paris made an attempt to set up a government of their own, which they called the Commune. The Commune actually acquired possession of the capital, and by confiscations, murders, and other atrocities maintained its hold upon it for two months (March-May, 1871). But in May the celebrated patriot Thiers, who had been elected temporary head, and later was appointed first president of the new Republic, having collected a considerable force about him at Versailles, sent forth Marshal MacMahon to take the offensive against the Parisian revolutionists. After a long siege and fearful street-fights, lasting a whole week, the forces of the Commune were shattered to pieces. In their fanatical hatred of the established order of society, they vowed that the victors should possess only a heap of ashes; while the Commune made its last stand against the

The riots of
the Commune,
1871.

The upbuilding of France.

national government, some of its adherents fired the city. Only the extreme devotion of the salvage corps rescued Paris from the fate of Moscow in 1812. When the fire was at last extinguished, terrible damage had been done, but no more than two or three great structures, such as the Tuileries and the Hôtel de Ville, were entirely lost. There followed a period of arrests and executions, and then France settled down earnestly to the work of repairing the fearful ravages of the war. The present flourishing condition of the country is a witness of her success, and a testimony to the strength of the Third Republic.

The dual Empire of Austro-Hungary,

1867.

The rest of the European powers had been no more than onlookers during the Franco-German War. The king of Italy indeed had thought for a moment of interfering in behalf of France, but on consideration he determined to go to Rome instead. The emperor of Austria, too, mindful of 1866, was at first half inclined to take a hand, but for various reasons he was persuaded to desist. Perhaps predominant among them was that as his country had just been internally reorganized, he did not wish to expose it to the chances of another war. The year 1866 had, in fact, introduced an era of reform. His terrible defeat at the hands of Prussia had not passed over the Emperor Francis Joseph without results. He knew now that he must conciliate his various peoples, and establish a popular government. The Hungarians especially had to be won back to the Hapsburg allegiance. In view of their importance to the state, Francis Joseph was now moved to grant them valuable concessions. He divided the Hapsburg dominions into an Austrian and a Hungarian half, and made them independent of each other, except for such matters as diplomacy and war. At Vienna, Francis Joseph would be emperor of Austria, at Budapest, king of Hungary, and in each half of his realm, he was to reign under a sep-

arate constitution, legislature, and administration. This dual empire of Austro-Hungary was created in the year 1867. It has proved a greater success than could have been expected. A great danger to the dual empire, however, arises from the Slavs*, who are constantly demanding for themselves the exceptional position already granted to the Hungarians: instead of an empire of two independent parts, they want one of three independent parts.

*i.e., Czechs (of Bohemia).

(Take ch. IX. before ch. VIII.)

CHAPTER VIII

GREAT BRITAIN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *

Tory govern-
ment after
1815.

No country had fought the French Revolution more bitterly or more persistently than Great Britain. Naturally therefore when the long war (1793-1815), which had inspired the subjects of King George III. with a fanatical aversion to the French people and to the revolutionary ideas which that people represented, was once over, England, like the Continent, entered upon a period of reaction. The Tory party, led by Lord Castlereagh, the duke of Wellington, and other haters of innovations, took control of the British state, and directed it for many years strictly in the aristocratic interest. But just as the Continent of Europe bore the reactionary yoke of Metternich and the Holy Alliance unwillingly, and quietly made ready to throw it off, so England gradually roused herself from her lethargy, and prepared to enter the road of reform. And that there were many things imperatively demanding reform, became clear as daylight the moment the idea had been once admitted.

The begin-
ning of
reform.

Although the French Revolution had carried the idea of the equality of all religious sects to the ends of Europe, largely for the enlightened reason that this idea had originated with their enemies, the French, the English clung to their antiquated views about the superiority of the Anglican faith. Most of the ridiculous provisions passed against Dissenters under Charles II. were, in spite of a hundred and fifty years of progress, still in force. The Toleration Act of 1689 had indeed put an end to active persecution of

* Additional references:—
H. H. Anderson, *Millar*.
Dandridge (See. H.), *Chs. I-V. — LX*.

* Myers (Med. & Mod. H.), Pt. 2nd, 4th Period, ch. X.
Ransome, Book VIII., chs. V. — VII.

dissenting Protestants, and had established freedom of worship, but the Test Act of 1673 was as much in vigor as ever, and by its terms no Dissenter could hold any public office.¹ The injustice of this exclusion having been at length brought home to Parliament, that body was persuaded, in 1828, to repeal the Test Act, and thereby finally make the numerous bodies of Presbyterians, Baptists, and Methodists full-fledged English citizens, as eligible to fill a position of public trust as any Anglican.

Repeal of the
Test Act.

It still remained to perform a similar act of justice toward the Catholics, who were not relieved by the repeal of the Test Act, owing to a special provision which was no part of the Test Act compelling every office-holder of England to abjure the Pope. As the English Catholics were a very small body, and were, moreover, very much hated by Anglicans and dissenting Protestants alike, no one was in a hurry to do them a favor. Perhaps the severely Protestant Parliament would not have taken up the matter of the liberation of the Catholics at all, if it had not been urged thereto by a dangerous agitation stirred up in Ireland by the patriotic orator, Daniel O'Connell. This hot-blooded leader at length inspired the Catholic Irish, who for generations had lost all interest in public life, to take a hand in politics, and to begin by protesting against the outrageous enactments which deprived them, as adherents of the ancient faith, of representation at Westminster. Wellington and his Tory friends were inclined at first to sneer at O'Connell's loud words and threats, but when the Iron Duke saw that Ireland to a man was backing her leader, and resolute in her demands to the point of revolution, he had the statesmanlike sagacity to give in.

Relief of the
Catholics.

¹ The *practice*, it must be granted, was not as severe as the *law*. By connivance of the government, many Protestant Dissenters had been permitted to hold office.

He passed, in 1829, the year after the repeal of the Test Act, a Catholic Relief Bill, by which Catholics were admitted to all but the highest offices of the realm.

The spirit of reform victorious after 1830.

These two liberating acts of 1828 and 1829 were the first breaches made in the conservative defences: But other assaults were sure to follow, especially after the successful Parisian revolution of 1830 had given the adherents of progress all over Europe new courage. In fact, a Whig or Liberal ministry having displaced the Tories or Conservatives in 1830, the Parliament was bold enough to proceed straightway to the most necessary of all reforms—to the reform of its own membership.

The Parliamentary abuse.

The seats in Parliament were distributed, in the year 1830, in accordance with a plan which had suffered no material alteration for two hundred years. But the last two hundred years had wrought great changes in the society of England; towns which had once flourished had decayed, mere villages had become prosperous towns. Thus it happened that a number of boroughs which were practically extinct, by old custom still sent representatives to Parliament. Such boroughs were justly denominated "rotten," because the members who sat in Parliament in their behalf were the nominees of a mere handful of men, nay, frequently of a single person. On the other hand, the great industrial towns of the north, such as Manchester, Sheffield, and Leeds, had, because they had only lately risen to prominence, no representation whatever. And as if to crown this crying injustice in the apportionment of Parliamentary seats, the right to vote was reserved to a few thousands of the rich. Thus it was clear that the House of Commons, as constituted in 1830, had become a mockery; it was a shameful lie to claim that it represented the English people.

The question of Parliamentary reform, brought forward

by the Liberals in 1830, involved them in a severe conflict with the Conservatives. When a Reform Bill was, after heroic efforts, at length carried in the Commons, it was immediately thrown out by the Lords. But so threatening was the attitude of the country against the stubborn Tories, that the Lords, too, finally gave way (1832). The Reform Bill became a law; the "rotten" boroughs were disfranchised, and the members, whom they had elected, were assigned to the large towns. At the same time the right to vote was extended to additional classes of citizens.

The passage of the first Reform Bill, 1832.

The Reform Bill of 1832 may be said to have transferred the power in England to the middle class. But it did nothing for the industrial and farming classes. Sooner or later, such was the levelling tendency of the age, these would have to be admitted to a share in the government. It was because the men in power in England understood the movements of their time, and did not stiffly set themselves against concessions to the rising elements, that England was spared the internal revolutions suffered by every country of the Continent. As the practical need arose, Parliament, from time to time, extended the franchise; by two additional reform bills—the one of 1867, the other of 1884—it has rounded off the Act of 1832, and given the right to vote to such numbers, that England may almost be said to maintain at present the system of universal suffrage.

The second and third Reform Bills

Hand in hand with these Parliamentary reforms have gone a great number of others affecting almost every branch of the public service. Perhaps the most important is the repeal of the Corn Laws.* The Corn Laws were intended to protect the land-holding class, who, of course, are the aristocracy, by means of a large duty upon grain.¹ Naturally that duty, by raising the price of bread, fell heavily

Chartist's
(1838/48)
See Monty
Hist. of Eng.
p. 37
Repeal of the
Corn Laws
1846.

¹ The word "corn," as used in England, embraces all kinds of grain. Corn Laws mean Grain Laws.

* The Factory Acts are hardly of secondary importance.

England
adopts free
trade.

The Irish
problem.

upon the English laborer. After a long educational campaign, headed by the economist, Richard Cobden, the Corn Laws were repealed (1846), and with them the whole system of protection was dropped. In lieu of it, England adopted the system of free trade, under which she has tremendously extended her commercial relations with the whole world.

Although the policy of sensible reform has removed most of the internal difficulties which have arisen in Great Britain during the nineteenth century, one problem remains as perplexing and hopeless at the end of the century as at the beginning. The name of that problem is Ireland. We have seen that the British Parliament had not remained blind to all the various forms of Irish misery; by the Catholic Relief Bill of 1829 the Catholic Irish had at length been admitted to office. A benefit along the same line was conferred when, in the year 1868, the abominated Protestant Episcopal organization, which the Irish had been obliged to call their national Church, and had had to support though they would not attend it, was deprived of its privileges.

The two present grievances: —

(1)

*Absentee
Landlordism.*

But these religious grievances of the Irish, it was comparatively easy for Parliament to settle in an age of increasing tolerance. For two other grievances, however, far more injurious to the welfare of the Irish people, it has been impossible, in spite of laudable efforts, to find a remedy. Both grievances are not of to-day or yesterday, but are historical. Owing to the confiscations of the seventeenth century, the Irish soil is, for the most part, in the hands of a few hundred English landlords, the Irish themselves being mere tenants and day-laborers; furthermore, Ireland, since the Act of Union of 1801, is ruled in all respects by England, and is permitted not so much as a shadow of self-government.

(2)

*Lack of
Privilege
of Self-
Government.*

Under these circumstances, the efforts of the Irish party in the House of Commons have been directed toward two aims: First, to enable the Irish tenants to acquire from the English landlords the ownership of the land they till; and secondly, to secure for the Irish an Irish Parliament at Dublin, with power to manage local affairs very much like an American state-legislature. Although the great Liberal party, inspired by kindly feelings and desirous of ending the ancient feud between Irish and English, has partially pledged itself, chiefly at the instigation of its greatest leader in this century, William Gladstone, to help the Irish achieve the above programme, and although several Land Acts have been passed for the relief of the Irish tenants, and a Home Rule Bill has frequently been debated ¹ in the House of Commons, the Irish are still far from being satisfied, and the thorny Irish problem is as far removed as ever from adjustment.

The efforts of the Irish party, backed by the English Liberals.

No sketch of the development of England in the nineteenth century can afford to leave out of account her marvellous colonial expansion. In fact, England is now to all intents and purposes a world-empire, of which the little mother-country is merely the heart, the seat of vitality, while Canada, India, South Africa, and Australia are the limbs and body which she feeds with her energy. This expansion of England over the four quarters of the globe has brought with it immeasurable benefits. Above all, it has created that vast trade through which has been amassed the fabulous wealth of contemporary Britain. But the benefits of expansion are not unmitigated. By the creation, all over the world, of interests which require to be defended when threatened, England has become involved in the nineteenth century in numerous wars. Indeed war

England a world-empire.

¹ Once (1893) a Home Rule Bill was even passed by the Commons, but was immediately thrown out by the Lords.

may be said to have become a permanent feature of English politics. If her troops are not fighting in South Africa, they are engaged on the Nile, and if not on the Nile, then one may be sure that they are forcing the passes of the Himalayas.

Her one European war.

But conflicts such as these, engaged in against the barbarian or half-civilized tribes of Asia and Africa, are petty skirmishes compared with the struggle which ensues when Great Britain meets a continental power. Luckily, only once since the fall of Napoleon has she been obliged to fight a European foe. From 1854 to 1856 she engaged, in alliance with France, in the so-called Crimean War¹ against Russia. She was persuaded to take part in that war because she believed that Russia was about to swallow up Turkey, and that the ascendancy of Russia at Constantinople would endanger the English ascendancy in the east. The Crimean War ending in the discomfiture of Russia, Constantinople was left in the hands of the Turks; but England has never ceased fearing that Russia will, at some time or other, again take up her designs against Turkey, and watches the northern power with constant suspicion. Her friendship with Turkey has been, perhaps, the only cause of the maintenance of that power in Europe.

Rivalry of Russia and England in Asia.

A further cause embittering the relations between England and Russia is furnished by the situation in Asia. The largest and richest province of England being India, that territory is guarded by England with exceeding jealousy. Now Russia has for a hundred years been steadily extending her possessions over central and western Asia, until the English in India feel that they are no longer safe. Border disputes between England and Russia have not been unfrequent of late years, and may at some time involve the two countries in war. Altogether it may be asserted that

¹ See page 373.

the greatest danger to the English colonial empire threatens from Russia, and chiefly at the two points mentioned—in the eastern Mediterranean, where the object of rivalry is Constantinople, and in India.

But Russia is not the only power which puts a restraint upon Great Britain; France and Germany, and even the United States, have of late years been engaged in frequent diplomatic disputes with the great sea-power. And it must be granted that the habit of promiscuous land-grabbing, which has long distinguished the policy of Great Britain, is very provoking to high-spirited nations. Thus by her occupation of Egypt, in 1882, she indeed secured for herself the control of the Suez Canal and the other waterways to India, but at the same time delivered a blow to the influence of France in the Mediterranean which will not be easily forgotten by that nation. However, up to the present day, this and other disputes have not led to war; Great Britain being a commercial power, is not anxious to engage in military enterprises, and the other European powers, torn by disputes of their own, have never been able to combine against her.

Her "splendid isolation."

(Take ch. IX. before ch. VIII.)

CHAPTER IX

RUSSIA AND THE BALKAN PENINSULA *

The rise of
Russia.

THE study of the foregoing pages must, on more than one occasion, have impressed the reader with the increasing importance in the world of Russia. We saw Russia under Peter the Great (1689-1725) establish herself as an European power; under Catharine the Great (1762-95) we saw her accomplish the destruction of Poland; and under Alexander I. (1801-25) we saw her assume the leadership of the European nations in the overthrow of Napoleon. From the death of Alexander I. to the present day the principal objects of the policy of the Czars have been the overthrow of Turkey and the extension of Russian rule in Asia.

The Empire
of Turkey.

The conflict between Russia and Turkey forms, because of the questions involved, one of the most interesting chapters of nineteenth-century history. To understand the intricacies of that chapter it is necessary to grasp the condition of Turkey. The Empire of Turkey was created chiefly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by the military triumphs of fanatical Mohammedan hordes, called Turks, and embraced at its height the north coast of Africa, Syria, Asia Minor, and southeastern Europe. The head of the Empire of Turkey is its absolute master, and is called Sultan. Under him as heads of the provincial divisions of the empire are the pashas. The government of the Sultan and the pashas has from time immemorial been arbitrary, corrupt, and oppressive. The subject peoples have groaned under an extortionary system of unparalleled rigor, and

* Myers (med. mod. H.), Pt. 2nd, 4th Period, ch. VII.
Fyffe, Andrews, Müller.

whenever they have risen in protest they have been hurled back into slavery by means of ruthless massacres. The Turks have made no effort to assimilate the many peoples they have conquered, and have never appeared in any other guise to the Oriental world than that of a privileged class of military despots encamped among conquered nations of slaves.

If at the beginning of the nineteenth century the despotic character of the Turkish rule excited discontent among all the peoples of the empire, it excited nothing less than shame and horror among the Christian subjects of the Sultan. The bulk of these were resident in southeastern Europe, and were racially either Greeks or Slavs. The Greeks dwelt approximately within the confines of ancient Hellas and on the Ægean Islands, while the Slavs, among whom we must distinguish the families of the Serbs, the Roumanians,¹ the Bulgarians, and the Montenegrins were scattered, often without any clearly marked racial boundaries, over the Balkan peninsula. From the beginning of this century the Greeks and the Slavs, growing more and more restless under the Turkish rule, have risen repeatedly to gain their independence. In these risings they have generally enjoyed the sympathy of Europe, and invariably the sympathy and aid of Russia. For, in the first place, the rise of the subject nationalities of the Balkans has fallen in with the Russian policy, which aims at the abasement of Turkey; and in the second place, the Russian people are linked with the Slav and Greek peoples by the common bond of the Greek Church.

The revolt of the Christian peoples of the Balkans.

The reader has already been made acquainted with some

¹ It is doubtful whether the Roumanians should be catalogued as Slavs. They speak a tongue derived from the Latin, and take themselves to be what their name indicates, descendants of the Romans. Ethnologists, however, hold that the Roumanians are largely of Slavic blood. It is interesting to note that scholars entertain a similar view of the modern Greeks.

The independ-
ence of Greece
and the Tur-
co-Russian
War of 1828-29.

of the movements of the Balkan peninsula and with some of the conflicts between Russia and Turkey resulting therefrom. In the year 1821 the Greeks rose against their masters, and maintained themselves for years against them in a struggle as heroic as any in history. The interference of the western powers at Navarino (1827)*, and the still more emphatic interference of Russia in the war of 1828-29*, inclined the scales in favor of the Greeks. They became independent under a constitutional monarchy. In the peace signed at Adrianople (1829)* the Russians further secured for the principalities of Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia a fair degree of self-government. For themselves, however, the Russians hardly got anything at all, and were naturally dissatisfied. The fact was that the western powers, and primarily England, fearful of seeing Russia established at Constantinople, had forbidden her to profit by her victories. This jealousy of Russia and England about Constantinople, first brought into clear view in 1829, has been ever since the most important feature in the politics of the east.

The Crimean
War. Turkey
helped by
England and
France.

It was Czar Nicholas I. (1825-55) who had waged the war of 1828-29. During the following years Nicholas became more and more convinced that the Turkish Empire was falling apart. He invented the famous phrase by which he designated the Sultan as "the sick man." Desirous of getting the sick man's heritage, he resolved in 1853 to clinch matters by occupying the sick man's territories.* The result was the Crimean War, in which Turkey was allied with France and England, and in which because of this alliance she came out victorious. In the Peace of Paris (1856), Russia, thoroughly humiliated, ceded her claim to act as sole protector of the Christians of the Balkans to the community of the European powers.† But in spite of the Russian defeat the Christians of the peninsula

*see f. 340.
" " 373.
" " 374.

suffered no loss, and the Turks gained no advantage. The leading Danubian principalities, Servia, Wallachia, and Moldavia, were confirmed in the rights (self-government under the suzerainty of the Sultan) which had been granted them in the Peace of Adrianople.

The assumption of the protectorate of the Christians by the European powers had naturally the effect of encouraging the Christians in their struggle for independence. In 1861 the inhabitants of the two provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia resolved, on the ground of their common Roumanian nationality, to fuse their two territories into the single state of Roumania. If the Roumanians counted in this step upon Europe, they were not deceived. The powers endorsed the revolution, and the Sultan had to accept the inevitable.

Creation of
Roumania,
1861.

It was not till 1875 that the situation in the Balkan peninsula entered another crisis. In that year a revolt broke out in Bosnia which, threatening to extend to the neighboring states, soon caused the diplomatic interference of Europe, and led to another war between Turkey and Russia—the third in order since the Congress of Vienna. The cause of the Bosnian revolt was the insufferable oppression of the Turkish tax-collectors. The brave Bosnian insurgents maintained themselves with success in their mountains, and for a time the situation of the Turks was critical. While fighting the Bosnians in front of them, they had to reckon with the possibility of a rising among the Bosnian sympathizers in their rear, for the consequence of the Bosnian struggle was a tremendous ferment among all the Christian races under Turkish rule, accompanied by the desire to effect a common rising against the Mohammedan master. Fearful of this movement the Turks resolved to forestall it by a characteristic method. They sent irregular troops among the Bulgarians, with orders to kill whomsoever they encoun-

The revolt of
Bosnia, 1875.

tered. The fanatical Mohammedan soldiery had evidently only been waiting for this permission. They threw themselves upon the defenceless Bulgarian villages, and massacred in cold blood thousands and thousands of men, women, and children.

The
Bulgarian
massacres,
1876.

The Bulgarian atrocities filled Europe with horror. The Sultan made glib excuses, and the diplomats arranged all kinds of compromises, but the difficulties between Europe and Turkey had already got beyond adjustment by paper conclusions. In Russia, where the people were related to the Bulgarians by ties of race and religion, the popular sentiment was soon excited beyond control, and in April, 1877, Czar Alexander II. (1855-81), unable and unwilling to resist longer the public pressure, declared war.

Russia de-
clares war,
1877.

The Turco-Russian War of 1877 was brought by the Russians, after a series of brilliant engagements, to a successful issue. In June they crossed the Danube; a month later, they occupied the principal passes of the Balkan mountains, and prepared to march upon Constantinople. At this juncture the Russians met with their only serious check. In the rapid overthrow of the Turkish Empire one man appeared, resolved to save at least the military honor of the nation. This was Osman Pasha. He gathered such forces as were available, and fortified himself at Plevna. For five months he directed a defense against the Russians which stopped completely the forward movement upon Constantinople, and invited the admiration of the world. But in December, 1877, Plevna was taken, and Osman, "the lion of Plevna," with the worn-out remnant of his troops, had to surrender.

The Russian
invasion.
Plevna.

The Peace of
San Stefano.
England pro-
tests.

Immediately on the surrender of Plevna the Russians took up again their march to Constantinople. Turkey offered no further resistance, and in sight of the minarets of the Turkish capital, the Russians forced from the Turks

the Peace of San Stefano (March, 1878). The Peace of San Stefano practically decreed the dissolution of the Turkish Empire. That was, from the point of view of civilization, wholly desirable, but unfortunately the Peace of San Stefano also made Russia the principal heir of Turkey. As the aggrandizement of Russia could not be observed by England without concern, England now made the demand that the Treaty of San Stefano be submitted to the European powers for revision. Russia at first protested, but as England, then governed by the spirited Lord Beaconsfield (Disraeli), threatened to go to war in order to get satisfaction, the Czar gave way. In consequence there assembled for the revision of the Peace of San Stefano the Congress of Berlin (June, 1878).

The Congress of Berlin was largely dominated by suspicion of Russia. In consequence it adopted the policy of modifying the advantages which Russia had secured from Turkey, and of strengthening the small states of the Balkan peninsula in the hope that they might prove an effective barrier in the future between Russia and her prey on the Bosphorus. The Congress of Berlin adopted the following measures: 1. Montenegro, Servia, and Roumania were declared independent. 2. Bulgaria was constituted as a self-governing principality, subject merely to the payment of an annual tribute to the Sultan. Its boundaries were drawn on the north by the Danube, and on the south by the Balkan mountains. 3. The southern part of ancient Bulgaria—the part south of the Balkans—was constituted as the province of East Roumelia, and though given an independent civil administration was left under the military authority of the Turks. 4. Austria was commissioned to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. 5. Russia received a number of territories in Asia Minor. As the reader will observe, Russia came out of the Congress of

The Congress
of Berlin,
1878.

Berlin damaged in prestige and shorn of her triumphs, and has ever since looked upon the Berlin settlement with wrath and indignation.

Roumania,
Serbia, and
Bulgaria since
the war.

Since the Congress of Berlin a number of changes have occurred, most of which point to the increasing vigor of the Balkan "buffer" states and to the success of the Berlin policy. In 1881 Roumania declared herself a kingdom under King Charles I. of the German House of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Serbia followed suit in 1882, her first king being Milan I. of the native Servian family of Obrenovitch. Bulgaria, however, has seen even greater changes. In 1885 East Roumelia, which is inhabited by Bulgarians, and had by the Congress of Berlin been separated from Bulgaria against its will, revolted against Turkish rule, and united itself with its sister state. Soon after this event Alexander of Battenberg, who had been elected prince of Bulgaria in 1879, was deposed by a Russian conspiracy, but the affairs of the country were not greatly disturbed by this mischance, for Ferdinand of Coburg was elected prince in Alexander's stead, and the country has since enjoyed comparative quiet.

Russia in
Asia.

If by means of the three wars which Russia has waged against Turkey since the Congress of Vienna, she has made considerable acquisitions from that country, she has fared still better in another quarter. In central and eastern Asia, she has had no very important foe to face, and has in consequence, by a system of gradual encroachments, added to Siberia, which she already held, a great number of border provinces. The Russian bear, therefore, is now a close neighbor of the English in India, and of the Chinese, and there is no saying whether he will put an end to his Asiatic foraging at their respective confines. The chances rather are that he will not.

Before we close the chapter on Russia, a number of inter-

nal matters deserve a passing mention. Czar Alexander II. (1855-81) was a notably amiable and humane gentleman. His name therefore fittingly stands at the head of a great reform. In 1858 he granted freedom to the 20,000,000 serfs on the crown domains, and in 1861 he ordered also the liberation of the 20,000,000 serfs resident upon the lands of the nobles.* The peasants thus became free proprietors. This high-minded measure raised great expectations among the educated classes. They fancied that the Russian millennium was at hand, and demanded a constitutional government. When the Czar turned a deaf ear to their request, the more radical elements plotted secretly against the government, and drifted gradually into nihilism. The Nihilists have kept up an active propaganda for many decades, and have done many deeds of horror. In 1881 they even assassinated the Czar. These excesses the government has met by wholesale execution and exile to Siberia, but thus far without crushing the Nihilist agitation.

The emancipation of the serfs, 1861.

Nihilism.

A further embarrassment to the Russian Government is furnished by the Poles. The reader will remember how the Poles rose bravely in 1830, only to be put down a year later after a bloody struggle. In 1863 they rose once more, but with even less success than on the previous occasion. Since then the Polish provinces have been held by Russian troops, and have been subjected to an iron bondage.# But the Russian policy has not broken the spirit of the brave people. The Poles continue to hope for an early resurrection.

The Poles.

* *Rambaud's Hist. of Russia*,
Vol. II., pp. 258-68.

Same with Finland.

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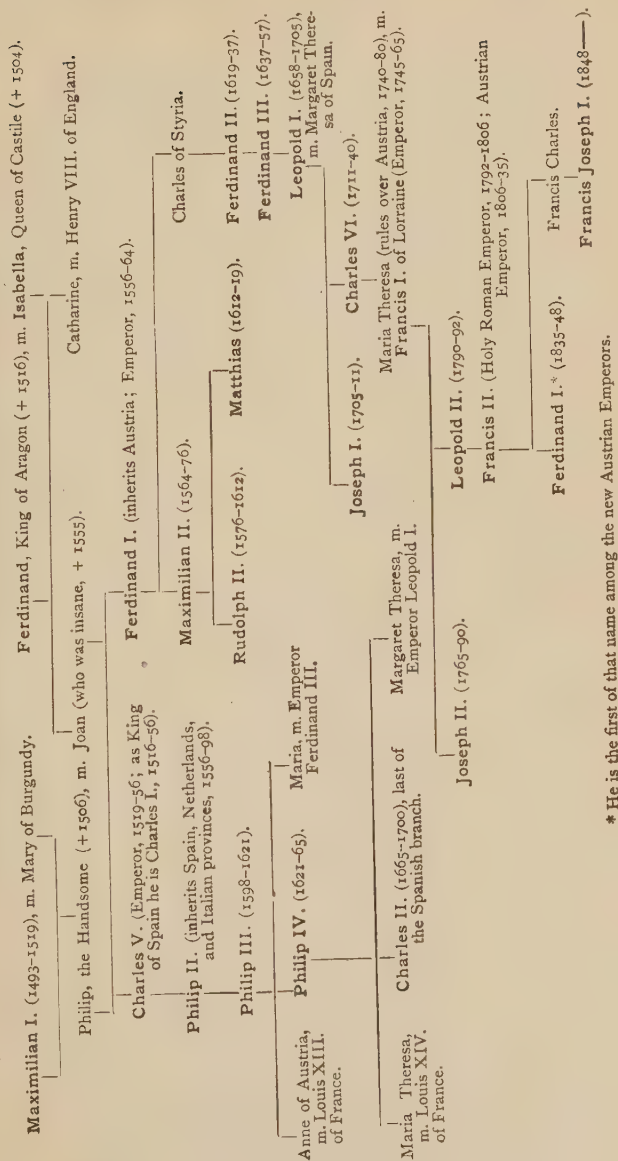
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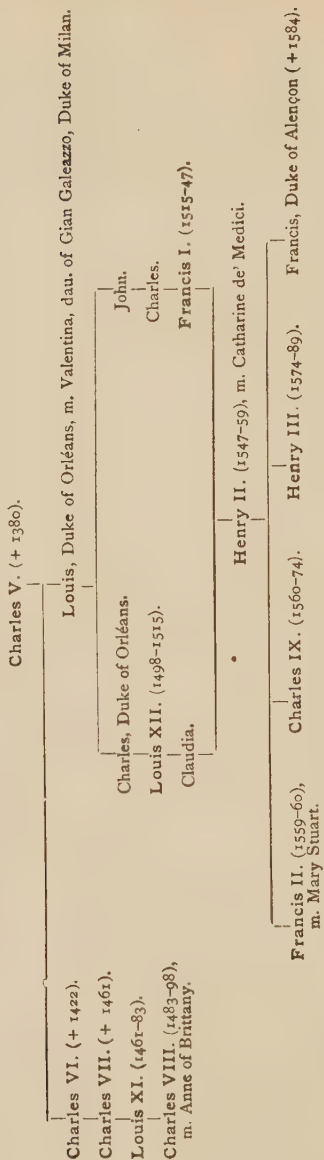
I.—AUSTRIA AND SPAIN. THE HOUSES OF HAPSBURG AND HAPSBURG-LORRAINE.

(The names of actual rulers, Holy Roman Emperors, Austrian Emperors, and Spanish Kings are given in heavy type.)



* He is the first of that name among the new Austrian Emperors.

II.—FRANCE. THE HOUSES OF VALOIS AND VALOIS-ORLÉANS.



III.—FRANCE. THE HOUSES OF BOURBON AND BOURBON-ORLÉANS.*

Anthony, Duke of Bourbon, m. Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre.

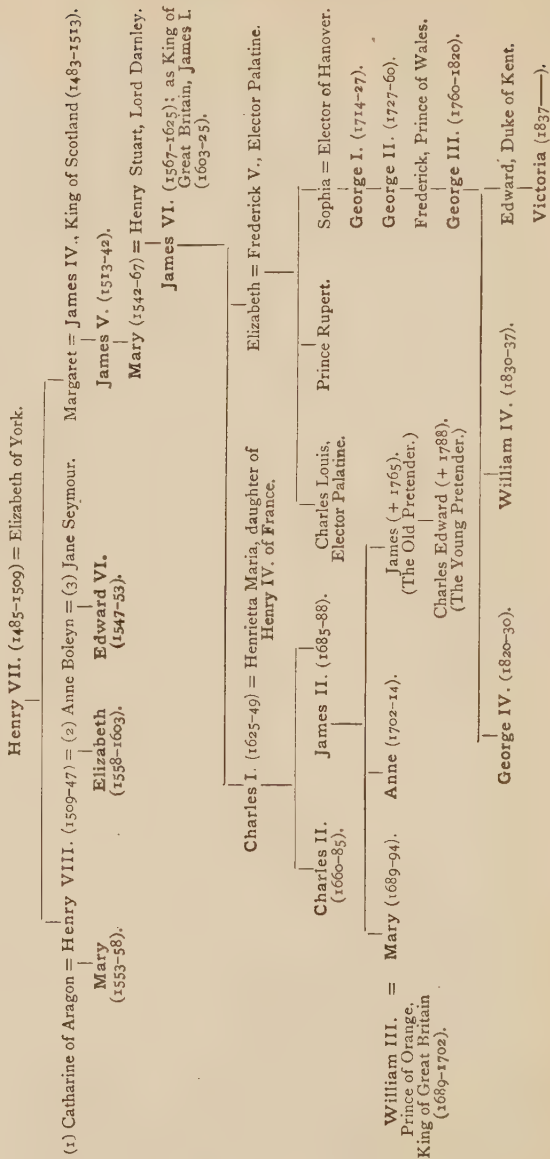
Henry IV. (1589-1610), m. { 1. Margaret of Valois.
2. Maria de' Medici.

Louis XIII. (1610-43), m. Anne of Austria.

Louis XIV. (1643-1715).		Philip, Duke of Orléans.
Louis, the Dauphin (+ 1711).		Philip, the Regent (1715-23).
		Louis (+ 1732).
Louis, Duke of Burgundy (+ 1712).	Philip, Duke of Anjou, who as Philip V. becomes founder of the Spanish Bourbons.	Louis Philip (+ 1785).
Louis XV. (1715-74).		Louis Philip (known as Égalité; executed 1793).
Louis, the Dauphin (+ 1765).		Louis Philip, King of the French (1830-48).
		Ferdinand, Duke of Orléans (+ 1842).
Louis XVI. (1774-92; executed 1793).	Louis XVIII. (1814-24).	Louis Philip, Count of Paris (+ 1895).
Louis (called Louis XVII. + 1795).	Charles, Duke of Berri. Henry, Count of Chambord (+ 1883; line extinct).	Louis Philip, Duke of Orléans, the present Bourbon pretender.

* The House of Bourbon is descended from a younger son of Louis IX. (St. Louis).

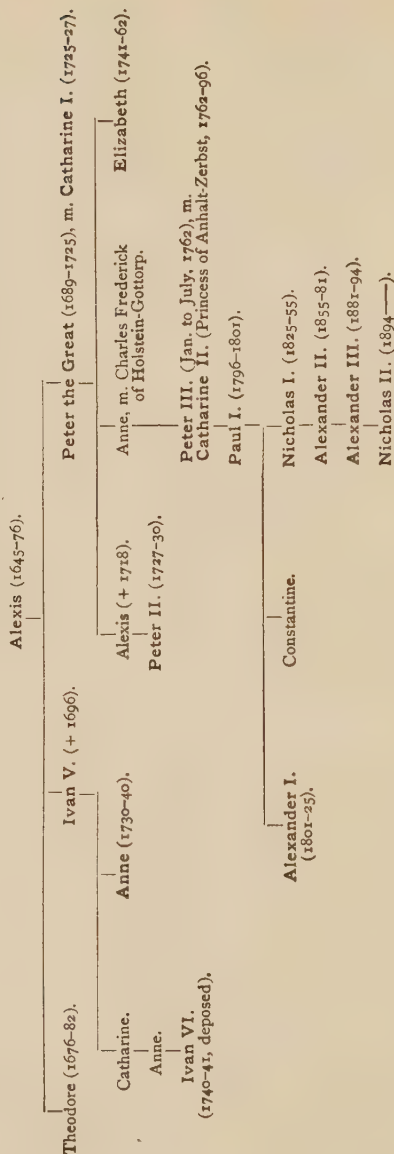
IV.—ENGLAND. THE HOUSES OF TUDOR, STUART, AND HANOVER, SHOWING THEIR CONNECTION.



V.—PRUSSIA THE HOUSE OF HOHENZOLLERN.

Frederick II., called the Great (1740-86).	John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg (1608-19). Acquires (1) Rhenish lands of Cleves and Mark (1609) ; (2) the Duchy of Prussia (1618).	
	George William (1619-40).	
	Frederick William (1640-88), the Great Elector.	
	Frederick [as Elector, Frederick III. (1688-1701) ; as King in Prussia, he is Frederick I. (1701-13)].	
Frederick II., called the Great (1740-86).	Frederick William I. (1713-40).	
	August William (+ 1758).	Henry (+ 1802). Ferdinand (+ 1813).
	Frederick William II. (1786-97).	
	Frederick William III. (1797-1840), m. Louise of Mecklenburg.	
Frederick William IV. (1840-61).	William I. (1861-88), becomes German Emperor, 1871.	
	Frederick III. (March to June, 1888), m. Victoria of England.	
	William II. (1888—).	

VI.—RUSSIA. THE HOUSES OF ROMANOFF AND ROMANOFF-HOLSTEIN-GOTTORP.



VII.—SWEDEN. THE HOUSES OF VASA AND VASA-PFALZ-ZWEIBRÜCKEN.

Gustavus I., Vasa (1523-60).	
Eric XIV. (1560-68).	John III. (1568-92).
Sigismund (is elected king of Poland, and adopts Catholicism, 1587), King of Sweden (1592-1604).	
Charles IX. (1604-11), deposes the Catholic Sigismund of Poland.	
Catharine, who m. Casimir of Pfalz-Zweibrücken.	
Gustavus II. Adolphus (1611-32), founds the military power of Sweden.	
Charles X., Gustavus (1654-60).	
Christina (1632-54), abdicates.	
Charles XI. (1660-97).	
Hedwig, m. Duke of Holstein-Gottorp.	
Charles XII. (1697-1718).	
Ulrica Eleanor = Frederick of Hesse-Cassel (1720-51).	
On the death of Frederick of Hesse-Cassel, Russia forces the recognition of Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Eutin.	
Adolphus Frederick (1751-71).	
Gustavus III. (1771-92).	
Charles XIII. * (1809-18).	
Gustavus Adolphus (1792-1809, deposed).	

* Charles XIII. recognizes as his heir the French Marshal Bernadotte, who succeeds him as Charles XIV. The line of Bernadotte still rules in Sweden.

VIII.—THE DUTCH NETHERLANDS. THE HOUSE OF ORANGE-NASSAU.

William I., the Silent (+ 1584).

Maurice (+ 1625).

Frederick Henry (+ 1647).

William II. (+ 1650).

William III. (+ 1702) = Mary, daughter of James II. of England; this William is King of England (1689-1702).

William III. recognizes as his heir a distant relative of the same House, John William Friso. The Stadtholderate was in abeyance from 1702 to 1748.

John William Friso (+ 1712).

William IV. (1748-51).

William V. (1751-1802, deposed).*

William I., King of the United Netherlands (1815-30). King of Holland only (1830-40).

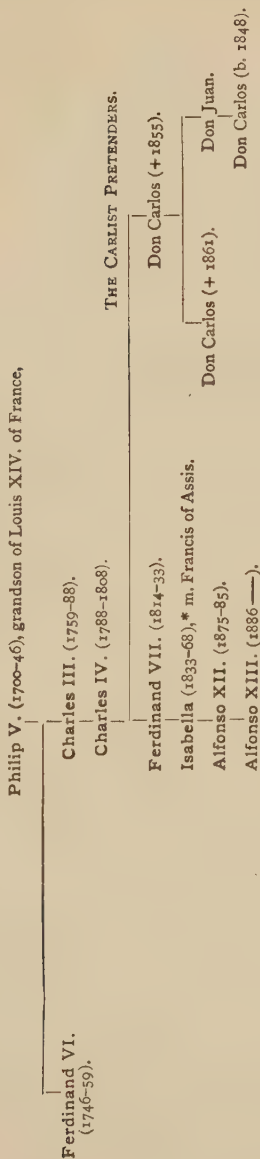
William II. (1840-49).

William III. (1849-90).

Wilhelmina (1890—).

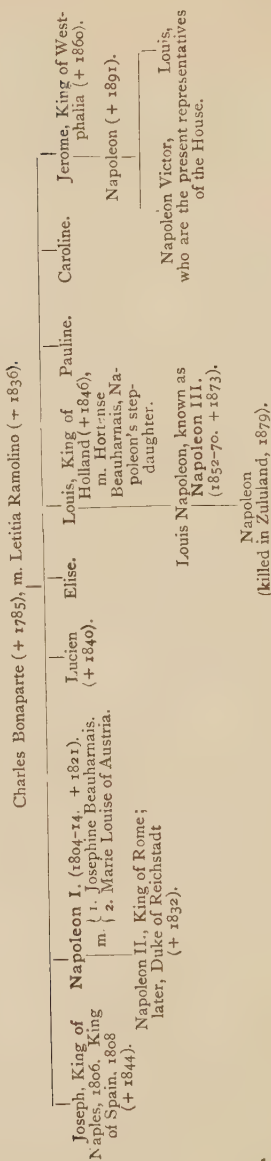
* From 1802 to 1814 the Netherlands are in the power of Napoleon.

IX.—SPAIN. THE SPANISH BOURBONS.



* From 1868 to 1875 a rapid succession of revolutionary governments.

X.—FRANCE. THE HOUSE OF BONAPARTE.



MAPS

1. EUROPE DURING THE REFORMATION.
 2. THE NETHERLANDS AT THE TRUCE OF 1609.
 3. GERMANY AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.
 4. ENGLAND AND WALES—JANUARY 1, 1643.
 5. WESTERN EUROPE, SHOWING THE PRINCIPAL CHANGES EFFECTED BY THE TREATIES OF UTRECHT AND RASTADT, 1713-14.
 6. EUROPE, ILLUSTRATING WARS OF CHARLES XII. AND PETER THE GREAT.
 7. EUROPE AT THE TIME OF THE GREATEST EXPANSION OF NAPOLEON'S POWER, 1812.
 8. EUROPE AFTER THE CONGRESS AT VIENNA.
 9. THE BALKAN PENINSULA IN THE YEAR 1881.
-

Longitude 15° West

from 10° Greenwich

5°

0°

5°

10°

EUROPE

during the Reformation.

SCALE OF MILES.

0 50 100 200 300

KILOMETERS

0 50 100 200 300 400

ATLANTIC OCEAN

NORTH SEA

SCOTLAND

Dunbar
Edinburgh
Flodden

Ulster
Colmaught
IRELAND
Dublin
Leinster
Munster

Fotheringay
ENGLAND
Cambridge
Oxford
London
Portsmouth
Dover

Utrecht
Antwerp
Ghent
Calais
NETHERLANDS
Brussels
Colog
Flan

Guernsey I.
Jersey I.

Cateau Cambresis
Vervins

St Germain
Ivry
Fontainebleau
Paris
Yassy
Blois
Orléans
Metz
Strasbourg
Luxemburg
Trier
Bern
Switze
Geneva
Turin

Loire

FRANCE

Nantes
Amboise
Tours
Dijon
Charolles
La Rochelle
Bordeaux
Orange
Avignon
Marseilles

Seine

Rhone

Garonne

ANDORRA

Lower Navarre
to France, 1559
Upper Navarre
to Spain, 1512

EDUC

Valencia

Granada

Cadiz

Gibraltar

Ceuta

Oran

Bona

AFRICA

Longtitude

Oporto

Lisbon

PORTUGAL

Valladolid

Douro

Tagus

Madrid

SPAIN

Edro

Valencia

Granada

Cadiz

Gibraltar

Ceuta

Oran

Bona

AFRICA

Longtitude

MEDITERR

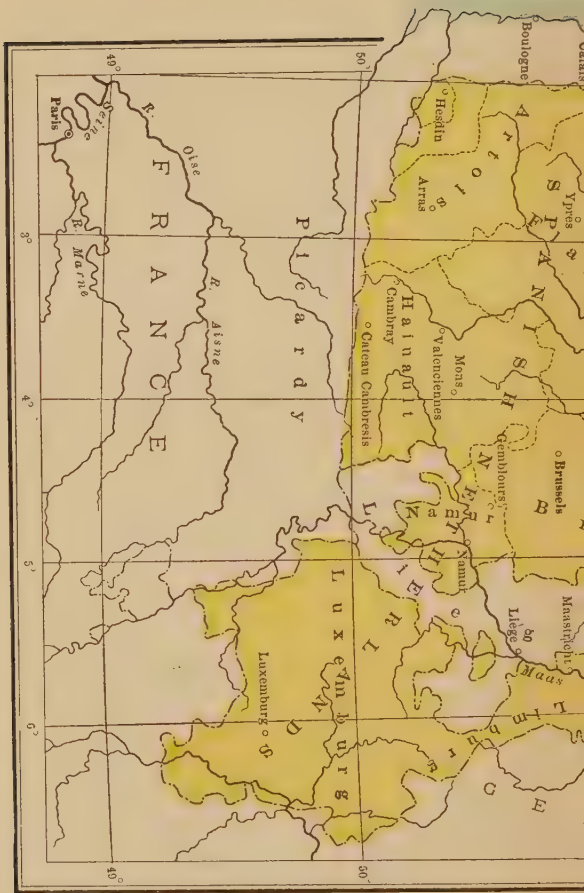
Balearic Islands

Majorca

Sardinia

Corsica





THE NETHERLANDS AT THE TRUCE OF 1609.

SCALE OF MILES.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80

0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80
KILOMETERS.
The M. N. Co., Buffalo, N. Y.

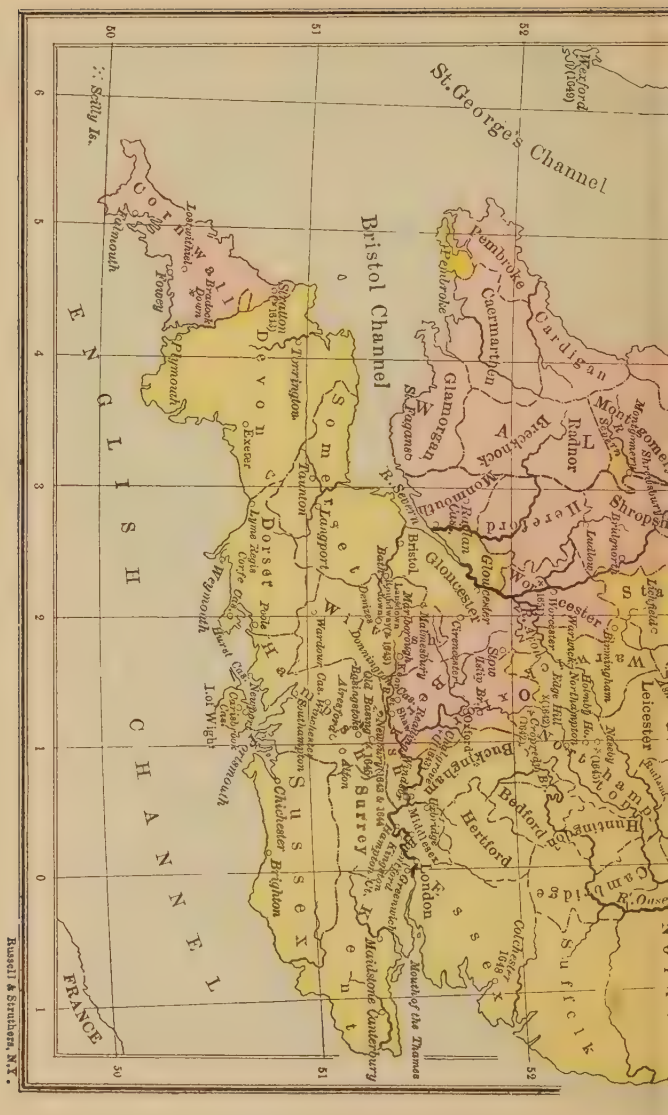


Ecclesiastical States in
the hands of Protestants

Do. in the hands
of Catholics









ENGLAND & WALES

January 1st 1643

Districts held by the King —

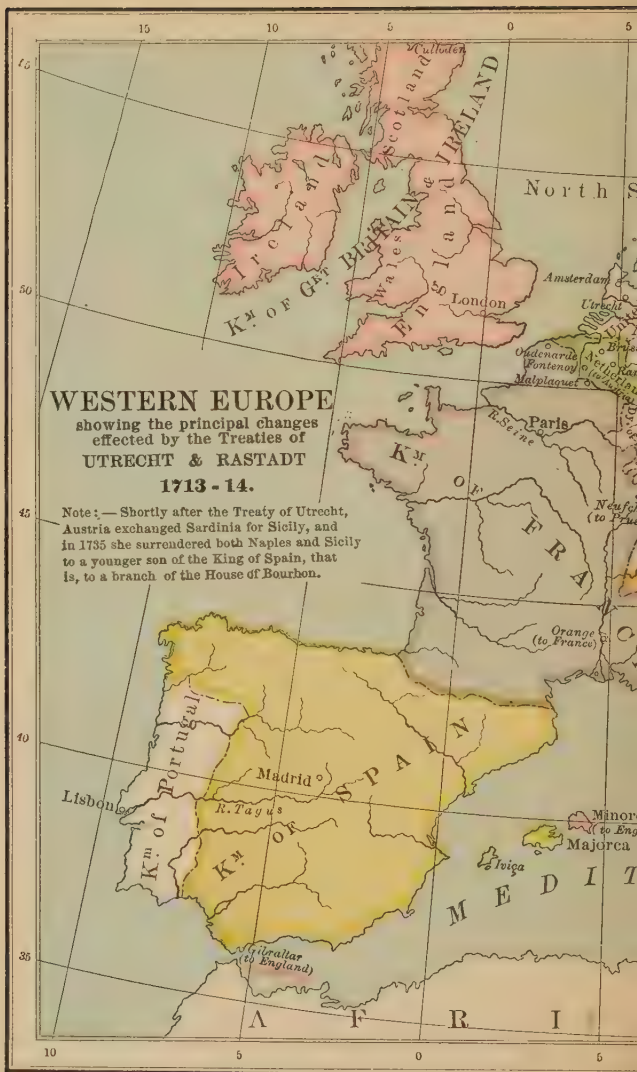
Do. Do. Parliament —



WESTERN EUROPE

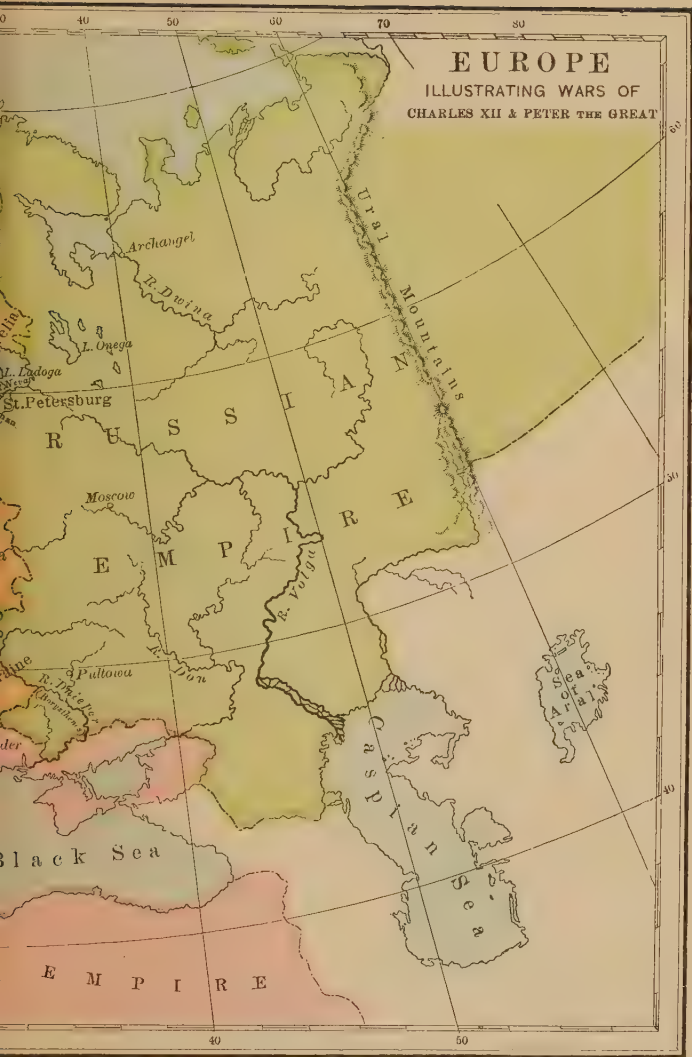
showing the principal changes
effected by the Treaties of
UTRECHT & RASTADT
1713 - 14.

Note:— Shortly after the Treaty of Utrecht, Austria exchanged Sardinia for Sicily, and in 1735 she surrendered both Naples and Sicily to a younger son of the King of Spain, that is, to a branch of the House of Bourbon.





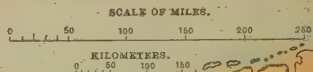




6° 0° Longitude East 5° from G

EUROPE

at the Time of the Greatest Expansion
of
NAPOLEON'S POWER, 1812







5°

0°

Longitude East 5° from

Boundary of German Confederation, thus: Prussia in 1815, thus: Other German Territory, thus: 

EUROPE

after the Congress at Vienna

1815.

SCALE OF MILES.

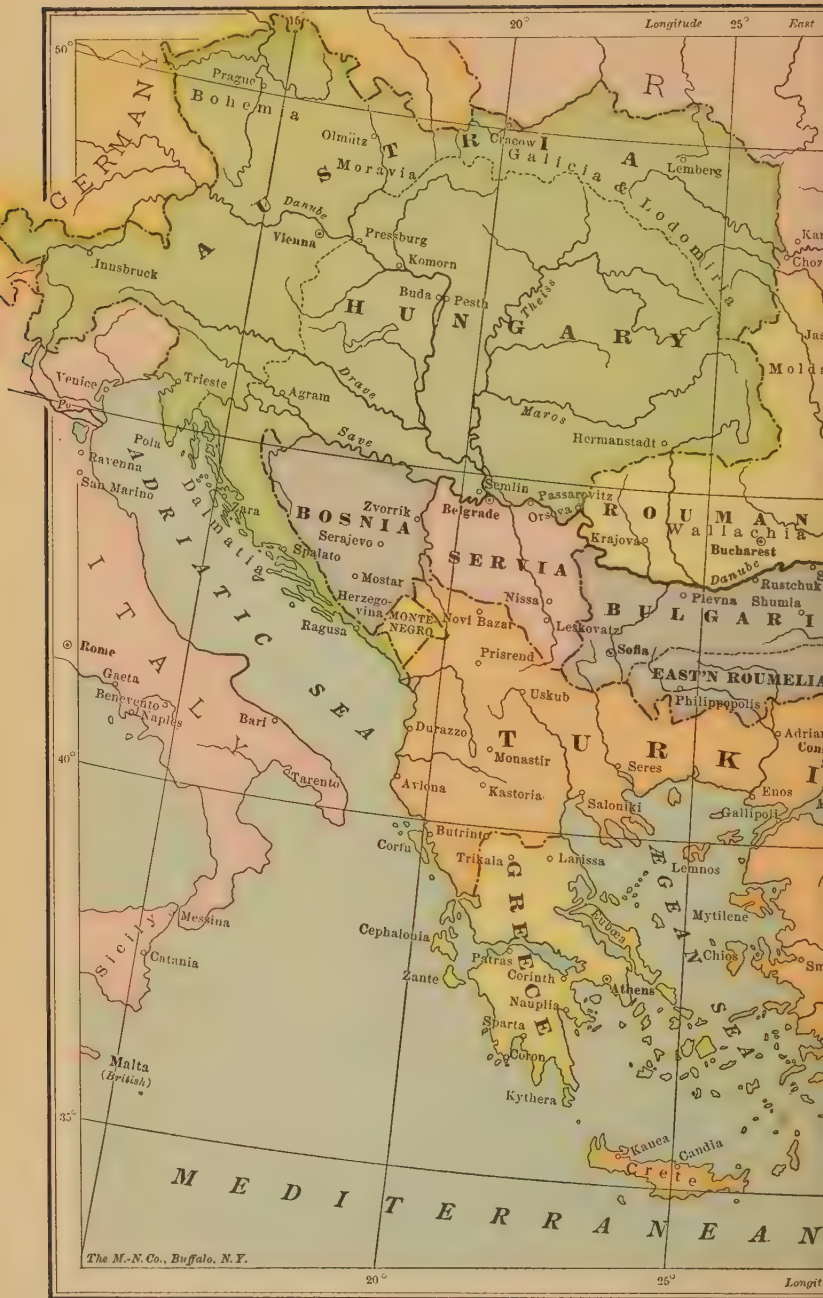
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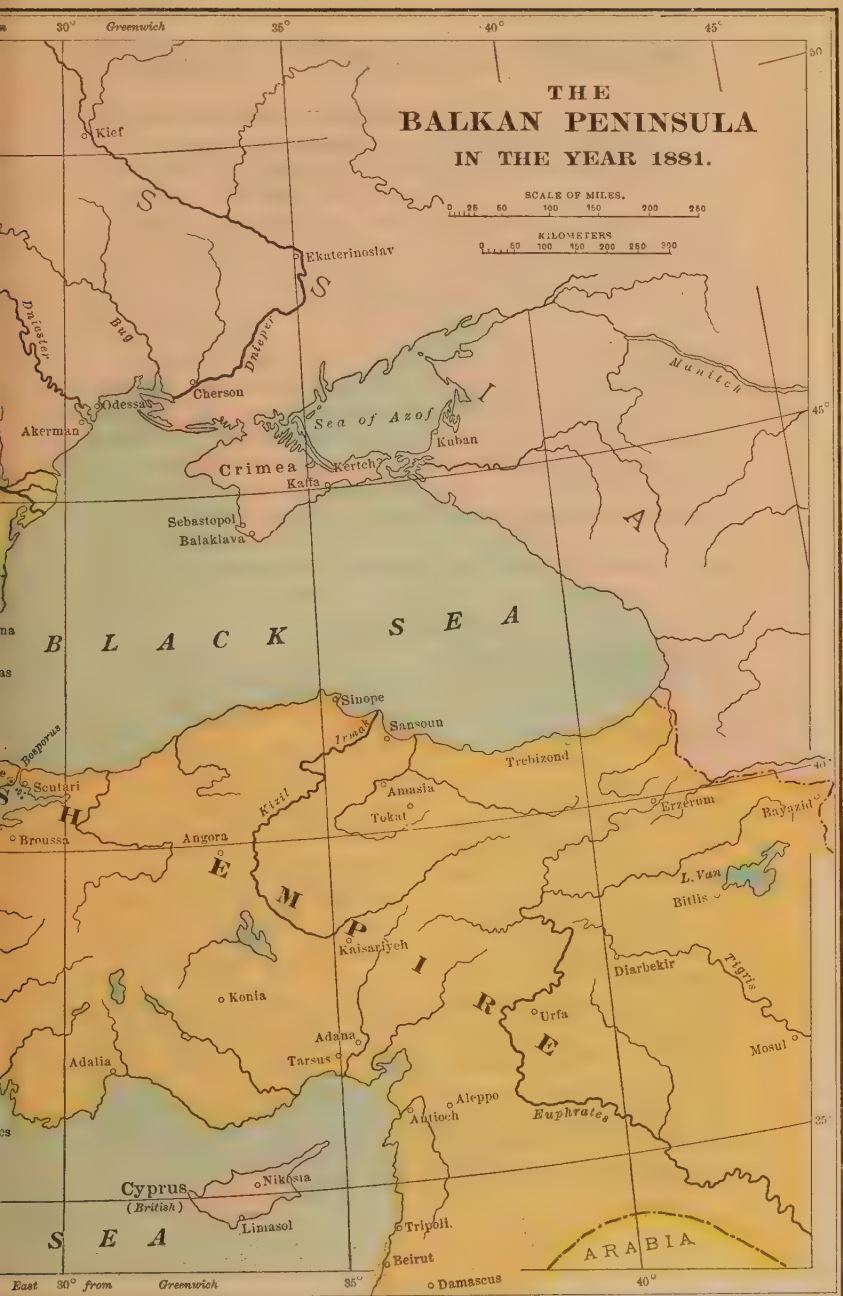
KILOMETERS.

0 50 100 150 200









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tions.	XV. Mohammed, Mohammed-
III. The History of the New Chris-	anism, and the Cru-
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-

- Free Will. (phrased by Luther)
Predestination. (Calvin) (Believed but not em-
[the fall.
1. Supra - Socinian: believed man could not prevent
2. Infra - Socinian. Could prevent the

Predest. After the question of the first choice
between good and evil in the garden of Eden
Infra's and Supra's agreed on predestination

Views on the Lord's Supper and on Trans-
ubstantiation:-

1. Catholic: Believed in actual transub.
2. Lutheran: Belief not clear; leaned some-
toward transub., but did not definitely
get it.
3. Calvinistic (Reformed, Presby., Congreg.) believed
bread and wine became the spiritual
of and blood of Christ and that this
was in, with and under the actual
elements, bread and wine.
4. Methodist and Episcopal: Believed that
the wine was only a symbol or type.
and 3 believed that the ceremony
was good to all; 4 believed that it
was for only those worthy to partake.

+ Great Reformers.

1. Luther:

2. Zwingli:

3. Calvin:

4. Knox:

See discussion on
Nominalism and
Realism in that
Cher and Schmitt
"Middle Ages"

	Intel.	Relig.	Polit.
14	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
Germ.	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
France	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>

(Comparative importance of 3 movements)

Moderate / I. Royal party (see p. 125)

(1) King
(2) Mary Queen of Scots
(3) Catherine de Medici

Catholic / II. Swisses
(1) Francis Wrote, leader of army
(2) Henry Cardinal, head of church

Protestant / III. Bourbon
(1) Henry of Navarre
(2) Coligny

History of modern Europe
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